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MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 10 1930

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Edited by

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

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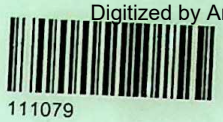

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MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XII. } JAN.—MARCH, 1932. { No. 1.

RACES OF FURTHER ASIA.

By

J. H. Hutton.

Ethnic Types in Further Asia.

No less than in south-western Asia, we have in the south-east of the continent a heterogeneous mixture of racial elements and a population, which contains very varied elements at all stages of culture, and much confused byhybridization. The ulotrichous peoples are represented by the Negrito and Papuasian races, the cymotrichous by the pre-Dravidian, Dravidian and Nesiot and the Leiotrichous by the Pareœan or South Mongoloid race, while invading elements of Chinese, Tibetans, Arabs, Portuguese, French, Dutch and British have added to the general mixture. The result has been that owing to the absence of accurate data and to the fusion of races and types accurate classification is almost impossible. Thus Haddon writes of a group of Mongoloid tribes stretching from Assam to Formosa and including the Khasia, Mikir, Bodo, Garo of Assam, the Lisu of Yunnan and the Lolos of Szechuan, that they are probably

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more allied to the leucoderms than to the xanthoderm Mongols. He calls this group *protomorphous* and apparently regards it as representing an unspecialised strain surviving from the original type from which both the leucoderms of Europe and the xanthoderms of eastern Asia are derived. A definite Caucasian stock appears to be present in the aboriginal population of Indo-China and has doubtless survived as a submerged element in other hill tribes in south-east Asia.

Racial History.

The earliest inhabitants of south-east Asia were probably either Negrito or pre-Dravidian in race and representatives of both these races survive in a submerged condition and generally more or less mixed in blood by contact with their neighbours. Both these races are naturally hunters and collectors of food, not cultivaters, and in so far as they possess cultivation it seems to be a recent acquisition from outside and is communal in character. Generally they move about in family groups where game, fish and wild yams are easiest to obtain. The social unit is the family, and the social structure of the simplest description.

Negritoes.

Excluding the Andaman Islanders, the Negrito is represented in that area principally by the Aeta of the Philippines and the Semang of East Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. They have no domestic animals and their dwellings are of the frailest description. They have probably separate quarters for the bachelors and spinsters of each

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community, the dead are buried or exposed in trees, and religious ideas are of the vaguest, but a land of the dead is believed in and spirits on their way thither have to pass over a perilous bridge guarded by a demon. This belief is characteristic of the Indonesian area generally and extends alike to the pure Negrito of the Andaman Islands and to tribes in which Negrito affinities are unsuspected. So too the segregation of the unmarried is typical of the area in general and the practice extends from central India to Formosa and southwards into the Pacific. The typical weapon of the Negrito is the bow and arrow, and both Aeta and Semang poison their arrows. Though naturally kind and gentle, the Negrito—once embittered—evinces the most implacable hostility towards his enemies. He survives, however, as a distinct tribe only in the Andamans, the Malay Peninsula (Semangs) and in the Philippine Islands (Aetas), though traces of his blood are to be seen elsewhere in the archipelago and on the mainland. Even in Assam the physique of some of the hill tribes and their traditions of the past suggest his sur-survival to a comparatively recent date.

Pre-Dravidians.

The Pre-Dravidians of the area are represented primarily by the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, whose mode of life is not dissimilar to that of the Negrito, but there are other Pre-Dravidians of less pure stock surviving in east Sumatra and in the Celebes, such as the Toalas, and no doubt the

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race has contributed to other existing stocks in the East Indian Archipelago and perhaps on the mainland, where the strain is probably present in the hill tribes of Assam and Burma; and in Dutch Borneo it has been suspected in a slightly larger proportion in the Ulu Ayar tribe. Their distinctive weapon is the blow-gun.

Papuasian Negroes.

The Papuasian branch of the Oceanic Negroes was perhaps a later arrival in this area than the Negrito branch, but is less definitely represented among the present inhabitants. Even in the most south-easterly islands of Indonesia, where it is best represented, it has generally been modified by contact with other races, but traces of its presence are to be found in Assam. Again both in the physique and disposition of some of the Naga tribes, particularly in the inaccessible interior of the Hills, where individuals and sometimes whole communities show decided signs of Papuasian blood in their frizzly hair, prominent or aquiline noses, in their very excitable disposition,—mirthful, voluble and cruel,—and in the artistic bent which shows itself in wood-carving as well as in a number of minor items of material culture, which can be traced from Assam at any rate to Fiji. Their typical culture, however, should be sought in Papua and Melanesia.

The Oceanic Negroes and the Pre-Dravidian,

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Racial and Cultural Elements.

however, are present in south-east Asia merely as archaic survivals, and have probably contributed little to its culture. As far as can be inferred from existing data the first known civilization of the area seems to be that of a race which may be described as Indonesian which was probably composed of a Caucasic stock which occupied this part of Asia at a very early date and was modified by Mongolian infiltration. This race, though now everywhere submerged by the flood of Pareœan invasion, is probably responsible for certain general features still found throughout the less accessible parts of the area in societies showing every diversity of political structure. How far the general features here described are typical of the submerged Indonesian race is largely a matter of conjecture, but it is sometimes possible to indicate the change which has taken place or is taking place, suggesting that the disappearing element belonged to an earlier culture than those which now predominate. Thus the Mon-Khmer language is now represented by isolated languages surviving in patches in Cambodia, in Yunnan, in the Wa and Palaung lands in Burma, in Khasia Hills in Assam and in the Mūṇḍā-speaking areas of Chōṭā Nāgpur in India, suggesting that the area once covered by languages of this stock stretched across the Irrawady river into the Ganges basin, though it has since been superseded by the highly tonal Tibeto-Burmese tongues.

So, too, the existing patrilineal society seems

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to have been preceded in most tribes by a matrilineal system such as survives in the Khasia and Garo Hills in Assam, and the prevailing policy of Government by secular chiefs is strongly associated with recent Pareœan invaders and probably superseded a highly democratic structure such as that which survives in parts of Assam, but which may itself have been merely the result of degeneration from a society dependant on highly tabued priest-chiefs like those surviving in the Konyak Naga tribe, where the recent tendency seems to have been to replace such chiefs by native amorphous democratic societies, in which age-grades play a prominent part. Exogamy is everywhere the rule rather than the exception, and endogamy, where reported, appears generally to be rather a matter of linguistic or social convenience than of principle. Exogamous clans, though usually claiming to have originated in a patronymic ancestor, sometimes show what seem to be traces of a pre-existent totemism. Traces are frequent and tangible of a dual organization of society, which may perhaps be due to Chinese influence, particularly as the two moieties sometimes seem to represent the earth and the sky. This dual system has perhaps been intensified by the need in founding a new village for two exogamous clans to combine in order to provide each other with marriageable women, and three-group systems may have sometimes been produced by the fusion of conquering and conquered dualities, in which the superior conquered class has been identified and fused with

Social Organization.

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the inferior of two classes of conquerers. The "Khel" system, under which a particular clan occupies a particular quarter of a village, and is more often than not in a state of avowed or latent hostility to the other clans in the other quarters of the village, appears to be another result of the same process, and gives way, under the secular chiefly rule, to a mere division into wards governed by different chiefs, the clan bond disappearing, as also the Bachelors' Hall which is prominent and necessary as a focal centre of clan activity under the democratic system, and appears as an important appendage of the chief's house under the sacrosanct priest-chief organization. This Bachelors' Hall has been shown to be by origin the communal house from which private dwellings split up (*vide* Peal "*On the Morong* etc.", in *Journal Anthropological Institute*, XXII, p. 256 and Pl. XViii.), and while it appears to retain its original from in the "Long House" in Borneo, and to remain as an appendage of the sacrosanct Ang's house in the Konyak Naga country, it has become a village club house in the democratic Naga communities, and survives in the Kacharis and Hinduised plains tribes in the village *Nāmghar* or prayer-house, while in the societies which have secular chiefs like the Sema or Thado it has almost entirely disappeared, though in some such tribes it still survives with some of its former functions as in the case of the Lushei *Zawlbak*. It has already been noted that it is a widespread institution and is shared even by the Negritos of the Andamans.

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Material Culture: Weapons.

Another item probably to be associated with the Indonesian culture is the tanged and shouldered celt,—a very distinctive form of polished stone adze which has been found in Indo-China, Malaya, the Irrawaddy basin, Assam and in Chōṭā Nāgpur in India. It survives in the form of shouldered iron hoes still used by some hill tribes as by the Khasias and by some Nagas. The use of the throwing-spear seems also typical of a pre-Pareœan people, and simple bamboo and sago-palm javelins, innocent of iron, but sometimes "feathered" like an arrow, usually with pandanus leaf, are still used in the remote interior of the Naga Hills. A straight two-handed iron sword is or was till recently used as a sword of state by the kings of Siam; it is depicted as carried by foot-soldiers on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat in Cambodia and it is still handed down as an heirloom in Naga, Khasi and Kachari families in Assam. It is possibly an introduction from India, where the straight two-handed sword was in vogue at the time of Alexander's invasion. The carved lion, more symbolic than naturalistic, which is so popular from Assam eastwards in regions where the lion is not known at all may also be of Indian origin, though, if so, he has perhaps been hybridized by the Chinese dragon. It seems to belong to the Shan and Burman elements rather than to the Indonesian, and the true Naga tribes have no word for lion, though the Kukis and Abors have one. So too the use of the cross-bow seems to be of Mongolian

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origin, and it is popular with the tribes of Indo-China and with many of those of Burma; only some of the Assam tribes use it and it does not reach the western Nagas who have only the bullet-bow, or the Khasis who, like the Thado Kukis, use a simple bow—a weapon which may perhaps be associated with Negrito survivals.

Tattooing.

Tattooing is practised generally throughout Further Asia, but the extent of its use varies greatly. With the Burmese it holds the rank of a fine art and it is generally practised by all the Tai races, and by some others. But whereas the Burmese and Shans seem to tattoo the male only, some of the Assam-Burma hill tribes tattoo the female only, and others, as in Borneo, both sexes, the operation being performed in the Naga Hills as by the Kayans of Borneo by women. In Borneo as in Assam tattoo patterns usually have reference to rank or to head-hunting exploits, or to recognition in the next world.

The Canoe-drum.

A feature of many hill tribes in this area, which calls for notice, is the use of a large wooden xylophone or "drum" (it has no membrane) made from a hollow log and sometimes described as a canoe-drum. Its distribution is not universal, but it is frequent in the Naga Hills, and the Khasi uses what is perhaps a degenerate form of it; it is found among the Wa of Burma; it occurs in the Malay Peninsula and in Borneo, and

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appears to be connected with the Fijian *lali* and with the Melanesian upright type. Some Amazon tribes in south America use a similar instrument. Its Indonesian or Malayan origin is perhaps indicated by the buffalo into which its head is so often carved, even where the *gayal* or *mithun* has superseded the buffalo as the principal domestic animal, by the occasional use of a crocodile pattern (reported and depicted by Peal, *loc. cit*) by tribes who have never seen a crocodile, and the tradition of the "wooden drum" that belonged to the pre-Burmese king of Arakan. It may be associated with the use of the war canoe, as its construction appears to be attended in the Naga Hills by tabus identical with those attending the construction of canoes in Melanesia; and canoes have been used, occasionally at any rate, for drumming in Manipur, in Papua and in Oceania. [1]

Plough Cattle and Terrace-Cultivation.

The buffalo appears to be associated with the Mon-Khmer culture. It appears in Borneo, used by the Murut tribe, and in the Philippines, in both cases associated with irrigated terraces. In Assam it is generally used in the plains, but has been superseded in the Naga Hills, where it was probably once universal, by the *gayal* or *mithun*, a much more tractable animal when kept in a semiferal state. The *mithun* appears very definitely to have been

[1] The "Canoe drum" is perhaps also to be associated with the stamping board used by the Andamanese when dancing, as by some of the Konyak Naga tribes in Assam.

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introduced by the Kuki-Kachin migration from the Himalayas down the Chindwin valley to the Bay of Bengal. Irrigated rice cultivation, however, though now general in the plains is far from universal in the hills. Millet undoubtedly preceded rice as a staple crop as in Formosa and in Assam and probably also in the hill tracts of Burma and Indo-China, and terracing combined with the regeneration of land by the preservation of pollarded alders appears in the Naga Hills to have preceded irrigated terraces for rice, which has spread at the expense of millet further than irrigation, and is often grown as a dry crop.

Megaliths and associated Culture-elements:

The megalithic culture of this area has also been associated with irrigated terracing, but it appears to exist also where irrigation is not practised, and in some cases where rice is not grown at all. This megalithic culture usually takes the form of menhirs and dolmens. It is intimately connected with a cult of the dead and also with a phallic cult. The general theory underlying it seems to be that the soul of the dead takes up its abode in the erect or the recumbent stone according as the sex is male or female, and that the fertilization of the crops and propagation of all life is dependent on the action of the soul, which is assisted by a process of sympathetic magic dependent on the symbolic form of these megalithic erections. The survival of this idea is probably to be seen in the forms taken by the temples of the more civilized religions of

Cult of the dead.

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the area, e. g. in Assam, and which reached their culmination in the marvellous structures of ancient Cambodia and Java, such as the famous Angkor Wat. The survival of this cult in Chōṭā Nāgpur in India, in Assam, in parts of Indo-China and in Madagascar, though in the intervening areas it seems to have died out, suggests that it originated at a very early date in the history of the area and perhaps preceded the expansion of the Proto-Maly race. [2]

Head-hunting and associated ideas.

Intimately associated with this phallo-megalithic cult is the practice of head-hunting, the purpose of which is to secure souls to add to the general village stock of soul-matter which is required for the successful propagation of animal and cereal life. Head hunting is still practised by the wilder tribes of Assam, Burma, the Indonesian Archipelago and Formosa. Connected with it is a conception of a material soul permeating the body and also apt to infect any object directly associated with the body. It is therefore dangerous for believers in this principle to touch objects which may already be impregnated with soul-matter stronger than theirs, or to allow anything likely to be imbued with their own soul to pass into the possession of a stranger who might through it be able tc influence them

[2] A tree stump carved into a wooden phallus has actually been found in an abandoned camp of the Iarawa tribe of Andaman.

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adversely. Beliefs of this kind are strong in many of the less sophisticated tribes such as the Toradja of the Celebes, and the Konyak Nagas of Assam, while the Karen of Burma hold the theory of the soul as a fertilizer in a peculiarly concrete form. Other tribes hold a rather vague and ill-defined belief in what amounts to *mana* or a dynamic soul-principle giving the possessor power to control unconsciously the forces of nature so as to enhance his own happiness, prosperity and good luck, but this belief is probably much the same as the other in origin, this *mana*, called *aren* by the Ao Nagas, probably consisting in emanations of soul-matter, which attracts other soul-matter to itself.

Head-hunting also serves as an instrument of the vendetta, a feeling for which is strong throughout the area, though in places it finds expression rather in the taking of slaves than of heads and the Moi word *comam* means both 'slave-hunter' and "avenger". Slavery, however, is generally a mild institution and the domestic slave is commonly treated as a member of the family.

Habitation.

Among the less cultured communities, houses are built of bamboo, and the difference of two types, one on the ground the other on piles, is noticeable as the two forms used by different tribes exist together in Assam, as they do in Java where the true Javanese builds on the ground while the Malayan Sundanese builds on piles. Bridges are

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made of cane rope, flung sometimes across tremendous gorges with astonishing skill, and in places *ficus* trees are cultivated by the riverside and their aerial roots trained so as to span the stream with living timbers. In the hills, villages are concentrated and palisaded and defended with caltrops of bamboo spikes.

Religion.

The most prevalent religion is probably Buddhism, but Muhammedanism is strong in the islands and the coast, and Hinduism, at one time ascendant, has left many survivals. Probably, however, these more civilized faiths nowhere go very deep, while the whole population is steeped in ideas based on a sort of polytheistic animism and the worship of the dead. Some of these ideas have already been alluded to, but many other beliefs apparently more or less inconsistent, exist alongside them and are held simultaneously. The idea of a beneficent but remote Creator (or Creatrix) is frequent and so is that of a village of the Dead in reaching which the soul has to travel on a perilous path guarded by a malignant demon. This village of the Dead is usually located underground, though sometimes the souls of the blest ascend to the sky. In the case of the islands, the land of the dead is sometimes overseas. Ideas of metempsychosis also occur independently of Buddhism, and the soul is reborn as an insect. The dead are treated with great variety,—burning, burial, and platform exposure all being practised, the latter being accompanied sometimes by separate desposal of the

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head. Boat-shaped coffins are used, sometimes where boats are unknown, and a sort of urn-burial is still common in parts of the Naga Hills, the pot being covered with a flat stone. Corpses of persons dying by "bad deaths", as in childbirth, suicide, by wild animals, etc. are usually treated differently from those of persons who die normally. Burning, where practised, does not seem necessarily to have any reference to Hindu influence, as it is practised by the Maru branch of the Singphos, and in secondary burials by the Khasis. Some tribes ,e. g. the Kacharis and Manipuris, attach special importance to the frontal bone and dispose of it in running water.

Cultural and Racial Origins and history.

The origin of the Mon-Khmer culture is still obscure. It was long much influenced by India, and the connection probably dates to the pre-Aryan epochs of the history of that country. It is now generally recognized that the Dravidian inhabitants of India, probably a branch of the Mediterranean race, had acquired a high state of culture before the more barbaric Aryans entered from the north, and it is possible that southern India was the source of the Indonesian and Mon-Khmer cultures. Certain it is that in southern India early iron age graves have been discovered disclosing items of culture which must be associated with existing Naga tribes of Assam. So too in now deserted uplands in southern India, round cenotaphs appear associated with terracing, strongly suggesting the culture of the Angami Nagas. The Karens of

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the Golden Chersonese have a tradition of origin from the Indian coasts of the Bay of Bengal. Colonies of south Indian elements have from time to time migrated further east, and the Klings of Malaya and the Talaings of Pegu, who were absorbed by, but gave their name to the Mons of that kingdom, are merely offshoots of the Telinga peoples, Dravidians (not to be confused with pre-Dravidians as so frequently done) from southern India. It is therefore far from unlikely that we must look to southern India for the first source of culture in Indonesia. The connection did not cease there but continued through Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist times and survived the Mongolization of south-east Asia. In the south-east, however, the Mongolian connection must have begun at a very early date. Chinese influence was felt in Annam in the third millenium B. C. and from that era, perhaps, we must date the beginnings of the movement by which the Champa race in Cambodia, with its Oceanic affinities, was gradually submerged, though the Shans themselves, the most promiment of the invading Mongolians, were still located in China in the second millenium B. C., and the Khmers who effectively invaded Siam in the sixth century, were still powerful in the third century B. C., though very strongly influenced by China.

Of the spread of the Oceanic Mongols or Proto-Malayas nothing is yet known. Their range includes the Oceanic domain of further Asia from Formosa to the Nicobaras and Madagascar. Nearly everywhere they are found also forming hybrid groups

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by fusion with Negritos, Papuans, pre-Dravidians or Indonesians; and the latter in particular has almost everywhere been modified by the Proto-Malay stock.

The expansion of Hinduism in Further Asia had started by the fourth century A. D. by which time it had reached Burma; it had arrived in the Malay Peninsula in the fifth and in Java in the seventh century; and the seventh centry saw the introduction of its offshoot Budhism into Siam, while the same century witnessed the advance of the Shan race towards the sea. The expansion of the true Malays from their home in Sumatra began in the twelfth century, and the spread of Islam to the Oceanic area took place in the thirteenth.

Meanwhile on the mainland the expansion of the Burmese race had begun in the eleventh century and their long struggle with the Shans for supremacy in what is now Burma. The Chinese invasion of the thirteeth century, however, led to the rise of the Shans which lasted from that to the sixteenth century, the fourteenth being that of the greatest expansion of the Siamese empire. The Burmese, however, were in the ascendant by the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth was that of their greatest expansion. The latest of all the Mongolian movements has been that of the Kuki-Kachin races which is still in progress. The various branches of the Kuki race that inhabit Assam have come from the south up the range dividing Assam from Burma but there has been an uninterrupted flow of

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migration from the sources of the Chindwin river down that valley to the sea of which the northward flow to Assam is the backwash (v. Fryer, *Khyeng People of Sandway, J. A. S. B.* 1878). It appears probable that the Kayans of Borneo formed part of the advance guard of this stream. The Thado Kukis, at the head of the Assam backwash, were still moving southwards in 1917, and the Kachins, the rear-guard of the whole movement are still moving southwards into Burma.

With the advent of the Portugese in the sixteenth century the European influence began to be felt, but it is only the Portuguese and the Spaniards who have affected the population racially and that hardly outside the Philippines, where their half-breeds may be reckoned by the hundred thousand. The climate prevents northern Europeans from taking root, and the Oceanic Mongols, modified by the Indonesian and by minor isolated strains, possess the islands, as the southern Mongols do the mainland except where the previous populations survive in the fastnesses of their inclement hills. *

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II. OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OBLIQUE-SHAPED INDIAN SKULLS.

By Bhupendra Nath Datta, M. A., Ph. D.

A few years ago while taking measurements of over a hundred Indian skulls lying in stock in the Calcutta Musem, I noticed that some of the skulls (twelve in number) were peculiar in their shape from the rest. All these skulls have been gathered from the Calcutta Medical College Hospital by the Museum. The religion of each of the subjects has been recorded in the Museum list and, in many cases, the age. But the caste, the birth-place and the province of the dead persons have not been registered. As in the Indian *milieu* the records of these informations are necessary for a comparative study, the absence of these records takes away some scientific data from the comparative study of Indian craniometry.

But apart from these omissions, the other notes on these skulls throw enough light on the craniometric side of Indian anthropology; hence I am venturing to present this paper on observations of the twelve oblique-shaped skulls made by me and first presented to the Indian Science Congress for discussion.

While examining the skulls I have used Rudolf Martin's method of measurements; and a part of these measurements now put before the public for the first time, is used by me in this paper. Only the subject's religion, age and sex have been noted in the Museum Register; but the sex and age have been checked by me and I

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have used Martin's Nomenclature of age along with the age mentioned in the Museum Register. All other measurements, notes and deductions are from me. Along with the measurements of length and breadth of the skull and nose, and their indices, facial profile and the nasal profile angles, some remarks on the skulls have also been given in the paper. While examining the skulls the following results have been arrived at. The measurement of the 12 skulls in question here give us the deduction that as regards the length-breadth indices of the skulls—*one* is dolicho-cranial, *seven* are meso-cranials and *four* are brachy-cranials. By putting the dolicho-cranial and the meso-cranial groups together under the common Nomenclature of "dolichoid", we find that *eight* are dolichoid or long-shaped skulls and *four* are brachy-cranials or broad-skulled in form. The nasal length-breadth indices of these skulls give us the following result:—*three* are leptorrhins, *three* are mesorrhins: and amongst the remaining *six*, four are chamaerrhins or platyrrhins, and two are hyperchamaerrhins.

As regards the facial profile angle (N. Pr angle No. 72 of Martin) none of these skulls falls within the nomenclature of Prognathous or Mesognathous. All of these are of the Orthognathoid type; one is Orthognathous while the remaining eleven are Hyper-orthognathous.

Regarding the Nasal profile angle (N. Ns' angle No. 73 of Martin) it is found that the three are orthognathous while the remaining nine are hyper-orthognathous.

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By taking into consideration, the majority of the physical characteristics of these skulls as revealed by the data in hand we see that the major portion of these objects form a combination of *dolichoid-chamaerrhine-hyperorthognathous* group. It is also to be noted here that the dolchoid-orthgnathic characters are strongly impressed in this group of twelve subjects. By making craniological observations on these skulls, it is found that among other peculiarities, *six* of the subjects have got wormian bones within the suture lines; *eight* of these have got prodentie. One of the skulls (No. 52) has got *Inca bone* in it. Four of these (Nos. 63, 386, 212 397) have got prominent superciliary arches. In two skulls (Nos. 212 and 397) the sutures are remarkably serrated; while three skulls (Nos. 74, 132 386) have got black spots in them. It may be these are the signs of the Caries disease. Again, some of the sutures of four of the skulls (Nos. 28, 41, 73, 77) show traces of obliteration in them. Further, all of these skulls are of oblique-shoped forms!

The oblique form of these skulls is of two varieties: In one case, the left-parietal bone is protruded out towards the occiput, conversely the right side frontal bone of the forehead is protruded out in the front; in the other case, the bones of the right-parietal and occipital regions are protruded out at the back, while conversely the left-frontal-metopic bone is bulged out in the front.

These in general are the characteristics of the skulls in question here. With the exception of

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the oblique forms of these skulls, there are no other peculiarities which distinguish them from the other Indian skulls that I have observed in the Calcutta Museum.

Out of the one hundred and two skulls measured by me in the Calcutta Museum, twelve are found to be oblique-shaped. To a trained observer this peculiarity falls at once to the eyes; but in other respects they are not peculiar from the rest. Naturally the question that comes before an observer is whether this oblique shape of a skull designates a particular racial type? As a result of my observations I should say,—decidedly it is not. Then the question comes whether this obliqueness of the head-form is due to carrying of loads on the head; here the presupposition is that these subjects must have been load-carriers in their life-time. Acting on that supposition it can be said that more cases of oblique forms would have been found amongst the one-hundred and two skulls that I have examined at the Calcutta Museum, if it be taken for granted that all the skulls deposited in the Calcutta Museum belong to the porter class who carried these skulls on their shoulders in their life-time. But all the oblique-shaped skulls mentioned in this paper do not belong to the male sex. Three of these skulls belong to the female sex who could not be supposed to have been load-carriers in their life time. Hence the theory of formation of the obliqueness of a skull due to load-carrying falls to the ground. Futher the science of Anatomy does not as yet warrant the supposition that the head-form of an adult man (a

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porter or a cooly must be a full-grown man in order to carry loads on his head) will lose its normal shape on account of carrying load on the head ! So the reason has got to be found elsewhere. One thing that we are sure about these skulls is that these are not normally-shaped ones, hence a more plausible reason for the anomaly is to be sought in a biological explanation rather than anything else. The Anatomist Buchanan [1] says, "when one-half of the Coronal or lombdoid sutures becomes prematurely obliterated oblique deformity takes place, this form being known as *Plagioccphalus* (oblique or awray head)".

Amongst the subjects under consideration here, four of these bear the sign of obliteration of the Coronal and lambdoid sutures. Considering their age, the obliteration seems to me premature in all of these, though their age as given in the Museum Register will warrant them to be "mature". The skull No. 28 which is registered in the Museum List as of 56 years of age betrays signs of senility, viz., not only is the Coronal suture obliterated, but the sagittal suture is also showing signs of obliteration. The lower jew is a little bit shrunken. In the case of skull No. 41, the coronal, sagittal and lambdoid sutures show signs of obliteration, though the age given is 35, i. e. of a mature man. In skull No. 63 the coronal suture is obliterated, and the sagittal suture at the lower end shows signs of obliteration. Of course, Buchanan's description is not to be found

[1] * A. M. Buchanan, *Manual of Anatomy*, (1916) pp. 166—169.

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in all these skulls; but there is no doubt that there is some anatomic anomaly in these skulls.

Regarding this form of asymmetrical skull Rudolf Martin [2] says;—"Etwas anderer Artist der Plagiocephalus oder Schiefs-chadel, der durch leichtere oder starkere Asymmetrie der deiden Schadethalften characterisirt wird. Am haufigsten ist die sogenannte gekreuxte Plagiocephalie (Nistico) beider die eine stirnhalfte hinter der anderer zuricktritt undsich das Hinter hauptder entgegengesetzien Seite ausbuchte". Thus Martin says, Plagiocephalic or oblique-shaped skull is characterised by asymmetry of both the halves of a skull. Generally one-half of the frontal bone retreats before the other half, and conversely the occipital side of the opposite part bulges out.

As this description of a plagiocephalic skull fully fits the subjects in question here, I guess these asymmetrical skulls are to be called as Plagiocephalic ones.

Regarding the origin of the Plagiocephalic skull Martin further says:— "Als wesentchich Usaachen der Entstehung der Plagiocephalie werden adgesehen vonder 639 erwahnten Momenten, intrauterine Druckwirkiog, einseitige Synostosen, Rachitis, Craniotabes occipitalis und ostitis deformans genanat" The essential causes of the origin of Plagiocephaly are metioned as intra-uterine causes, one-sided synostoses, Rachitis, Craniotabes occipitalis and osteitis deformans. Thus there is no doubt that the oblique-shaped skulls in question here are Plagiocephalic ones, and do not belong to particular types nor are formed by carrying loads on the head; rather these may have been formed by the above-mentioned intra-uterine and anatomic causes.

[2] Rudolf Martin, *Luhrbuch der Anthropologie*, p. 720.

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INDICES TABLE.

Serial No.	Skull No.	Sex.	Age.	Religion.	Skull-length.	Skull-breadth.	Skull-index.	Facial Profileangle (Martin's Ganz Profil winkel No. 72)	Nasal Height.	Nasal Breadth.	Nasal Index.	Nasal Profileangle (Martin's Angle No. 73)	Remarks.
1	28	♂	56 (Senile)	Hindu.	170	140	82.35	97°	49	24	48.97	90°	1. In the skull No. 28 it is found that the Coronal suture in its left end where it meets the Pterion region is obliterated; the sagittal suture below the obelion point is showing sign of obliteration. The alveolar surface on the Maxilla above the Incicibus and below the Apertura Pyriforma is depressed. The lower jaw is a little bit shrunken. There are two Wormian bones around the Lambda point. The hind part of the skull is depressed. The shape of the skull is oblique.
2	41	♂	35 (Mature)	,,	173	133	76.87	93°	41	23	56.09	89°	2. The Skull No. 41 shows some trace of a beginning of the obliteration of Coronal suture in right Pterion region. The sagittal and Lambda sutures also show signs of obliteration. The skull is oblique shaped, protruding out at the back in left-Parietal bone towards the occiput, conversely the right frontal bone is protruding out. The four Incicibus in the Maxilla are of Prodentie nature.

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INDICES TABLE.

Serial No.	Skull No.	Sex.	Age.	Religion.	Skull-length.	Skull-breadth.	Skull-index.	Facial Profile-angle (Martin's Ganz Profil winkel No. 72)	Nasal Height.	Nasal Breadth.	Nasal Index.	Nasal Profile-angle (Martin's Angle No. 73)	Remarks.
3	52	♀	33 (Adult)	Hindu.	172	133	77.32	94°	46	23	50.0	94°	3. The Skull No. 52 is oblique shaped. The bones of the right-parietal and occipital region are protruding out at the back; conversely the left frontal-meatopic bone is protruding out in the front. On the other hand, the left-parietal and occipital bones have the formation of receding character. There is a big os Inca in the occiput. One of the left Incicibus in the Maxilla is a Prodentie.
4	63	♂	48 (Mature)	,,	174	131	75.28	96°	47	27	57.44	100°	4. In Skull No. 63, the Coronal suture in the left Pterion region is obliterated. The supercilliary arches are prominent. The two front Incibus in the Maxilla are of prodentie nature. The sagittal suture at the lower end below the obelion point is showing trace of obliteration. The skull is oblique in the lower interparietal region. The left-side parietal is protruding out at the back.

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INDICES TABLE.

Serial No.	Skull No.	Sex.	Age.	Relgion.	Skull length.	Skull breath	Skull index	Entire Profile-angle	Nasal Height.	Nasal Breadth.	Nasal index.	Nasal Frofile-angle.	Remarks.
5	74	♀	25 (Young)	Hindu	179	124	69.27	95°	44	24	54.54	95°	5. The Skull No. 74 is a little oblique-shaped. The left interparietal bone is protruded out at the back. There are black dots along the sagittal suture. Two of the Incicibus (two of the sides) of the Maxilla are of Prodentie nature.
6	77	♂	30 (Adult)	„	170	130	76.47	93°	41	25	60.97	93°	6. In Skull No. 77 the two Incicibus teeth of the Maxilla are of Prodentie nature. There are two Wormian bones in the Lambda Suture. The Sagittal sutur in obelin point is on the point of obliteration. The skull is oblique shaped, the left-side interparietal bone is more protruded than the right one, while the right side Frontal bone is more protruded.
7	115	♂	40 (Mature)	„	173	135	78.03	93°	49	22	44.89	98°	7. Two of the Maxillary Incicibus of skull No. 115 are of Prodentie nature. The skull formation is of oblique shape, the left parietal ls projecting out.

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INDICES TABLE.

Serial No.	Skull No.	Sex.	Age.	Religion.	Skull length.	Skull breadth.	Skull index.	Entire Profile angle.	Nasal Height.	Nasal Breath.	Nasal Index.	Nasal Profile-angle.	Remarks.
8	132	♂	22 (Young)	Hindu	160	130	81.25	99°	44	22	50.0	95°	8. The skull No. 132 contains Maxillary Prognathie. The first two of Maxillary Incicibus are of Prodentie nature. There are black spots around supercilary ridges and along sagittal suture. There is a small Wormain bone in the left Pterion also some in the Lambda suture. Again, there is one in the right side where the parietomastoid and the squamous sutures meet. The skull is oblique to the right.
9	212	♂	24 (Young)	,,	163	129	79.14	95°	48	21	43.75	103°	9. In the Skull No. 212 the Nasal spine is big, the superciliary arches are prominent. The sutures are serrated. The skull is oblique shaped. The left-parietal bone is bulging out at the back; correspondingly the right side of the frontal bone is projecting out towards the front.

INDICES TABLE.

is projecting out towards the front.

INDICES TABLE

Serial No.	Skull No.	Sex.	Age.	Religion.	Skull length.	Skull breadth.	Skull index.	Entire Profile-angle.	Nasal Height.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal Index.	Nasal Profile-angle.	Remarks.
10	383	♂	— (Adult)	Hindu	167	131	78.44	90°	47	21	44.68	91°	10. The skull No. 383 contains a Menton Tubercle. There are some Wormian bones in the Lambda suture, also one in the sagittal sutture below the obelion point. The skull is of oblique form the right parietal hind part is bulging out in the occipital side and the left side is *vice versa*.
11	386	♂	— (Adult)	„	170	139	81.76	96°	50	26	52.0	97°	11. The Skull No. 386 has got well-developed Glabella and superciliary arches. There are black spots around this region. There is a Wormian bone at the junction between the Lambda and the Sagittal sutures. The Skull is a little oblique in the left side.
12	397	♀	— (Mature)	„	174	144	82.75	94°	48	54	58.33	103°	12. In Skull No. 397 the Mental Tubercle and the spine are prominent. The superciliary ridges are a little prominent. The Lambda suture is highly serrated with lots of middle-sized bones in it. The right parietal bone is protruded towards the back, while the left-frontal bone is bulging out towards the front. It is a typical oblique-shaped skull.

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III. CULTURE AFFINITIES BETWEEN INDIA AND POLYNESIA.

By Panchanan Mitra, M. A., PH. D., P. R. S.

(Continued from Vol. XI, Nos. 3 & 4.)

The Stone Artifacts of India and Polynesia.

Polynesia was still in the stone age when found by the Europeans. So its dominant culture was that of stone. We have in India no fewer than 78 nifferent artifacts in the New Stone Age according to Bruce Foote. In Polynesia we have more varieties of one or two types dominating. The adzes dominate in Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii and the Society Islands. According to my friend F. G. Stokes in his masterly paper on the Pacific adze regions the material, the shape and the cross sections lead us to interesting conclusions. In material we find stone the most widespread from the Neolithic Old world right up to the New.

There are of course the massive shell-adzes from the Carolines to the Gilbert Islands which is explained as a result of suitable shell being available and lack of proper stone there, but the skill in stone working is also a great factor as though shells are available everywhere in Polynesia we find shell adzes distinctly in a subordinate position showing the dominance of the tradition and skill in stone-working.

The thin shell adzes of the Marianas followed into Melanesia and carried up to Tongareva and Taumotus show the reduction of the size by the

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material and the familiarity with the shell as suitable for adze over this vast region.

The stream of culture bad evidently been from the West to the East in the Pacific. While Melanesia and Micronesia closely agree with each other in adze form and technique, and some traits may be recognised in Polynesia, we find some other new features in the Polynesian region absolutely lacking in the Western neighbours.

The variety of forms in Melanesia is limited and the types are rigidly fixed. When we come to Polynesia, the remarkable plasticity of the form and technique makes us often forget that we are faced with limitations of the stone adze culture. The far more advanced level of culture so often noticed as one steps right out of Melanesia can be read not only in the lighter skins but also in the adzes.

In the *Festschrift publicatin d'hommage offerte au P. W. Schmidt* (Vienna 1928), Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern in a very interesting paper entitled '*Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Sudostasien*' tries to correlate the characteristic types of Neoliths with the distribution of the Austro-Asiatic languages. His study of the distribution of the shouldered celt is remarkably complete. He shows that the shouldered celt is found over an area where the Austro-Asiatic languages are now spoken and confirms the theories of V. Ball and H. C. Das Gupta that these are to be associated in the East of India, Assam and Burma with the Mūṇḍā, Mon-Khmer

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and other Austro-Asiatic peoples. Prof Skinner of Dunedin Otago also in his illuminating paper on the origin of the material culture of the Maoris finds the shouldered celt in South Polynesia and traces it up to Cambodia. In Polynesia the predominant forms, as we have seen, are the tanged adzes and the poi-pounders specially of Kauai. These latter have been traced by my friend Stokes tc a slab-prototype of the distinctly shouldered-celt-like form. The tanged adzes find their nearest approximation to the shouldered celts. But the tanged adze itself can be traced right up to Madras. Its occurrence and remarkable Polynesian affinities have been remarked by Bruce-Foote. In a specimen from the newly-found site near Baraipada in Myurbhanj I found also a type of the Polynesian adze; so also it occurs in Burma and I could take tracings in the British Museum of specimens from Burma, Negri Semblan, Malay Peninsula, from Talaing, from Sumatra and from Java. Dr. Heine Geldern also notices the tanged adze as characteristic of Java, Sumatra, Bali and Malay Peninsula and also a fragment from Borneo and he is disposed to regard its distribution as the same as that of the West Indonesian languages (op. Cit. p. 834) "Besonders charcterisisch sind jedoch für Java sowohl also für Sumatra Spitzbeile, deren Oberseite meist aus zwei Flächen besteht die dachförming von einer Mittelkante abfallen, wahrend die Schnide von beiden Seiten in einem stumpen Oinkel gegen die Mittelkante vorspringt und mit ihr eine dreikantige Spitz bildet. Im

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ubrigen kommen die verschiedansten Formen vor. Es gibt Spitzbeile mit dreieckigem, und solche mit fünfeckigem Querschnitt, Stücke, deren Mittelkante gerade verläuft und dann nach einer Knickung zur Schneide abfällt, andere, Oberseite der Länge nach gekrümmt sind". (op. cit. p. 832). Besides the Schulterbeil which the author speaks of as Austro-Asiatic he makes the Dravidian type as *beikultur Walzen* which according to him succeded the Palaeolithic culture in India. This round form he finds in Eastern Indonesia with characteristic cross-sections reminding us of Polynesia.

"Unter den Steinbeiltypen Ostindonesiens scheinen zwei für besonders characteristisch zu sein, nämlich walzenbeilartige Formen mit linsenförmigen Querschnitt und breitnackige Beile in Gestalt eines kurzen Rechteckes oder Trapezes, bisweilen dem Quadratt sich nährend mit Seitenflächen also recheckigem oder trapezförmigen Querschnitt". According to Mr. F. G. Stokes the quadrangular form with downward converging sides is important in marginal areas such as New Zealand, Chathams, Rapa, Society, Pitcairn, Easter and Hawaii and also in Melanesia. In fact, the forms that I could personally examine in the Indian Museum or the British Museum coming from Oṛissā, Burma or the Malay Peninsula was of this type with a more or less quadrangular cross-section at the butt. The scheme of evolution of these adzes according to Stokes is (1) starting with a circular form (2) by reduction of the base we get the elliptical, (3)

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working on the two sides we get the lenticular, (4) the base is still further reduced in the semicircular (?), (5) then we get the ovate, (6) then we get the spherical triangular or erect triangular, (7) then truncate erect triangular, (8) then rectangular (9) then quadrangular with downward converging sides, (10) then inverted triangular, (11) then inverted spherical triangular, (12) then flattened ovate, (13) then wide ovate, then (14) ovate, and later, (15) elliptical, (16) deep quadrangular with convex faces and, lastly,(17) hexagonal oblong. Regarding this evolutionary series it may be questioned whether they started from the round-section implements. The dominance of the round or the semi-circular cross-section is apparent. This is the type of celt which is the dominant type in South Indian Neoliths (type 6 of Bruce Foote's celts), though occasionally the square cross-section is met with. The chisels with thick traingular body also approximate very much to the Tahitian adze.

The Musical Instruments.

In our study of the musical instruments, specially after the excellent work of Miss Helen H. Roberts, we are again surprised at the wealth of undreamt-of details, first, of primitive forms of music and the possible part that India had to play as the centre of dispersal of musical instruments. In my personal talks with Miss Roberts I found that she, after her mastery of details of the technique of music and song of Oceania and the American Indians first-hand and of the rest of the world data, had well-nigh the conviction

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that India was the home of this music and the songs of Oceania and probably of a large part of Africa as well.

The musical bow has been found to have originated from the hunting bow and is supposed to be the mother of all stringed instruments.

In India we have the simple type of the primitive bow and the term Vana in Vedas (R. V., I, 85, Viii, 20, 8; ix, 97, 8; x. 32, 4 and Ath. Ved. X, 2, 17) shows that if the word is is of Austric origin the hunting and fighting bow as well as the musical bow had been early known to the Vedic Aryans. The word Vanici occurs also in the Rigveda (v. 75, 4) In the later *Smahitās* and Brāhmaṇas the derived Vīnā had become known with its parts *S'ira* (head), *udra* (cavity), *ambhana* (sounding board), *tantra* (string) and *Vādana* plectrum (*Aitareya Aranyaka* iii, 2, 5). *Pingā* in the Rigveda is also a musical bow (R. V. viii, 69, 9). In New Britain the musical bow is *pangolo* and in New Britain it is *pago.* According to Miss Roberts, bowing did proabably originate in either Ceylon or India. With the region between Malaysia and India forming a centre of very high development and very ancient history. Africa, on the one hand, and Melanesia, Polynesia and the Western Hemisphere, on the other hand, become marginal areas (*Hawaiian Music* p. 343).

The Hawaiian term for the bow, *ukeke,* which was held between the teeth) connects itself with the *ku* of the Maori and the *Pakuru* and *Pakakau* in Newzealand, which were notched sticks held between

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the teeth and resonated when struck by the other. In Vedic India we have the words *Bākura, Bekura, Bakuri,* which are some musical instruments played by the mouth. The word *Karkari* (R. V. ii., 43, 3; A. V. 4: 37, 40) by its etymological derivation seems an onomatopoeic word meaning some notched sticks and evidently it was played by the mouth. The *Kānda vīnā (Kathaka Smhitā* xxxiv 50) evidently was made of reed and might be a reed bow being played by the mouth originally. So also the word *Nādi* means a flute made of reed. *Gadhā* occurs in certain passages of the Rig Veda (x. 28, 10, 11) as bow-string and in another as musical instrument (R. V., viii, 69, 9) and in later *Smhitās* and the Atharva Veda it stands for a lizard amongst the *Savaras.* The musical bow is covered with a *gadhā* skin in our college collection. *Tumava,* as the name for a flute, occurs in the Rig Veda.

Drums in Vedic lore.—

Dūndūbhi occurs in Vedic lore (R. V. I, 28, 5; vi, 47, 29, 31) and it is remarkable that the earthen-drum, *bhumi-dūndūbhi,* mentioned in *Taittirya Smhitā* vii, 5, 9, 3; *Kathaka Smhitā* xxiv, 5 is the same as that occuring in Malay Peninsula amongst the Semong and the Sakai, in Korea, New Guinea, Fiji, Tonga, Hawaii, Samoa. Other drums are *Vanaspati* wood *per excellence, dūndūbhi* and *āḍambara.* Other drum forms resemble very much in India and Polynesia. Summing up, Miss Roberts says that Malaysia and India seem to be the region

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of extraordinary development and the centre not only for stringed instruments but instruments of percussion of all sorts and in wind instruments (*Ibid* p383). Other points of similarity are in conch shells, nose-flutes, leaf whistles, gourd whistles.

In vocal music and dancing Miss Roberts says, "There is more than a casual connection between Hawaiian music and very early styles of Hindu singing although some of the features they have in common with much primitve singing all over the world."

In dancing the features lend themselves to tracing from Hawaii through some island groups to the Asiatic mainland. The *Hula* dances of Samoa, the *Siva Siva* dances of Samoa, the *Meke* of Fiji and the *Haka* of the Maoris that I saw impressed me with their variety and affinities with different dances specially in rural Bengal associated with masks.

Polynesian dances.—

The dances of the Samoans and Tongans are in many respects like those of the Hawaiians, although special types of dances appear to be purely local. Humorous animal dances are characteristic of this group. It is characteristic of the dancing in India, Burma, Java, Siam, Cambodia and Laos and in a measure of dances in Japan for the hands and arms or the trunk to take more active part in the dance than the feet and the legs. The hands and arms in southern Asiatic dancing are used to the utmost nicety in delicate pantomime interpreting the words of the song which accompanies

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the dance. Dexterity and liveliness are not attempted (Roberts-*Ancient Hawaiian Music* p. 382).

According to Malo, the Hula was a popular amusement with the Hawaiian people, On the birth of an *alii* the children gave themselves up to the *Hula.*

"The male and female dancers assembled on the green grass and there in their graceful dances, accompanied by song, recounted the various achievements of the warriors"...*Ibid* p. 165

Hula kolea or plover dance, *Hula mano* or shark dance, *Hula ilio* or dog dance and *Hula* or pig dance. *Ibid* p. 169

Decorative designs.

Maori art has been a subject of great wonder and speculation on account of the beauty and variety of its spiral designs as well as of the difference between this art and that of the rest of Polynesia which is rectilinear whereas this is curvilinear. Skinner finds undoubted presence is Polynesia of Indian art motives (*Journ. Pol. Soc.* Vol. xxxiii no. 4. p. 238) The Maori art has been derived from Melanesian influences according to some but it is not likely. True, in the Massim area in New Guinea there is a decorative system based on spirals and coil of Maori art but the art of Massim differs in that it rarely employs the human form. The Marquesan culture, specially of decoration, is closely allied to the Maori. It is probably in Western Polynesia that the differentiation between Maori and central Polynesian art began.

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The Maori face-tattoo or Moko designs differ from Tongan which is rectilinear. Potttery faces in Sepic river in New Guinea agree with the Moka.

The canoe carvings are remarkable for the figure looking forward in the canoe and two forward curving ribs, the open work carving and the numerous small loop coils to one of which is attached a head. The loop coils are remarkable from the fact that each runs back to a small head composed of little else than an eye. The oculus is well-known as a boat design from Indian shores to the Pacific as as is shown by Hornell.

The *maiaia* or bird-headed figures are prominant in the barge boards of storehouses on piles. The coiled form is found throughout New Zealand and the Chathams. The bird and the snake motive occurs in New Ireland and is realistically rendered in the art of New Ireland. The thunder-bird lore is in fact traceable right up to Easter Islands. It reminds us of the early rivalry of Kadru and Vinatā legends of the early rivalry between the serpents and Garuṛa.

The Taniwha design has been recorded from South Canterbury in New Zealand. The same design exists in the East Indies as is indicated by designs from Borneo and Buton. In same class with it is the carving of unusual design in the Kaiatea swamp near Awanui. It appeared from the discussion that related forms in ivory and bone are found in both islands of New Zealand. The Bornean parallel is

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interesting as showing the possible object of these designs.

Carvings of the beautiful Ngati-pouru head shows that the geometrical figure set in the depression, the spiral in the centre of each eye, the buckle-shaped mouth with its two lateral tusks find a remarkable parallel in the Indian rendering of the human head in Java which was the model or had influenced these forms.

Thus the human figures and the spirals which form the most important elements of Maori decorative art are traceable to India (Ibid p. 239).

Maori art stands very close to the art of the undivided Polynesian people when they reached only the western borders of the Pacific.

According to Donald, "The view that the Polynesian, who tattoed a spiral on his face, was moved to do so in response to the appeal of his æsthetic sense, is one which is exceedingly difficult to accept. There must have surely been a fundamental psychological motive for this deliberate act of facial disfigurement. We seem to meet with that motive when we find that a Polynesian of the "sky cult" believed, as did the Polynesians of the underworld cult, that after death a goddess examined and pocked off tattoo marks. The Polynesian who favoured the spiral symbol ascended to the "sky world" on a whirl-wind. But before ascending to the sky, the Polynesian ghost had to travel to the homeland of his race, which was supposed to be situated in the centre of the world.

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The Polynesian of the underworld cult went in the same direction, but in accordance with the tattoo scheme of his cult, he descended to his own particular underworld paradise. It is apparent therefore that the complex beliefs of Polynesia cannot be accurately designated as "primitive". Much appears to have been inherited from the ancient civilisations with which the ancestors of the sea-faring Polynesians were originally in direct touch. It may not therefore be after all merely a coincidence that the banyan tree is sacred in Polynesia as in India. The banyan was imported by man into Polynesia, as was the Indonesian cocoanut into India on the one hand and into pre-Columbian America on the other. (The Migration of Symbols and their relation to Beliefs and Customs. London 1926, p. xvi).

Dr. Hutton in a paper in *Man in India* (Vol. IV, 1924, 1 &c.) comparres the mortuary practises common to Assam and the Pacific and the separate disposal of the head is found amongst the Konyak Naga as amongst the Maori, Tahiti, Samoa, Marquesas and Papua and the head is detached and painted in this area also. Keeping the dead long in the house as amongst the Maori is known amongst the Kelyo Kengyu Nagas. Burial within the house is found amongst the Yimtang Nagas as in New Guinea, Hawaii, Tahiti and Marquesas. Amongst the Eastern Kullans the brother of the widow of the deceased digs

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up the skull and smears the skull with sandal-wood powder and spices. He holds the skull in hand and it is carried to a shed is front of the dead man's house and after 24 hours of drunken revelry it is carried back to the grave when the son burns the skull (Thurston-*Ethnographic Notes Madras*, 1906 p. 205).

Other similarities :—

Curvilinear art designs of the Maori and Massim area New Guinea art and the folk art of Bengal and indigenous school of Bharhut.

Duplication of head in Maori figures as in Java Rakshasa figures.

Makara designs in Bhārhut and Kirtimukha as in Moko designs.

Sacred stone structures—*ahu* of Easter Ids and Tahua of Marquesas—Dahu (rectangular pyramid erection on vantage ground and Tehuba (great stone platform) of Angami Nagas.

Oha stones of Lhota Nagas and in Heiau of the Hawaiians.

Thirty-day month of the Vedas and thirty day month in Polynesia. Ama-anta system as in S. India later and Greek Roman and Jewish years. Some traces of the nights of the moon in Rig-vedic lore,—Sinivali—the day before New Moon; Kuhu the day of New Moon (Maori word meaning to hide or to conceal), Gungu also the New Moon day. Raka the day of the New Moon appears as one of the nights of the full moon in Maori, Mori Mangaia, Tahiti and Hawaii. With slight difference of names in Marquesas it appears in the form of Ky'u.

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Division of the year into two halves.

Pleiades year—Krittika year first in use in India—, Karttik still the holy month. The change of year from November to April was akin to that of the other Polynesians beginning the year in December whereas the Maori New year began on the 27th of May. The Polynesian year commenced with the rising of the Pleiades at sun-set in December and in New Zealand Ama and Omutu.

Elements in mythology—(according to Dixon).

Cosmic egg moving on water in Hawaii and India.

Tree hanging upside down in Indonesia and Micronesia.

Heaven originally so low that a woman struck it with a pestle.

Cosmogonic ideas based upon the evolutionary or the genealogical.

Ancestral images in New Guinea and portrait statues in South India (*Arch. Survey, S. Circle;* 1919-16, pp. 28-66. Custom of Vira Saivas still a very close representation of the departed. Habit travelled to Java—queen in deified shape in Prajnaparamita (p. 76-8 of Annual Report 1926-27.)

Birds eating serpents from New Ireland recalling Garuḍa cult.

Modes of temple similar.

Coiled basketry similar.

Method of stamping designs similar.

Scoop net—*fonoti*—similar.

Hat of pandanus leaves from Caroline islands similar.

In an illuminating recent paper of my friend Dr. E. S. C. Handy just to hand we have a nice

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attempt to disentangle the strata of Polynesian culture specially with a view to find out the question of Polynesian origins. He finds naturally the first a primitive cultural element comparable to the barbaric neolithic phase of culture spread from India to Polynesia through Indonesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. These he considers to be the shouldered celt, erect stones associated with shrines and the skull-cult and the men's hall or lodge. This is associated with the stratum racially akin to the primitive Polynesian and is also conterminous with the spread of the Austric languages.

B. The second, what he calls the older Brāhmanical, traits in the Pacific includes (1) craft traditions, (2) rites for the first-born, (3) ancestral cult, (4) use of genealogies and images, (5) phallic symbolism, (6 representative symbolic art, (7) ritualistic conventions, (8) priestly traditions and orders, (9) *mana* and *tapu* (10) walled temple with tower-like shrines, (11) the cults of Tane, Tu and Roo and (12) Tiki as a symbolic figure and lastly, (13) dualistic evolutionary cosmogony.

C. Later Hindu-Buddhist traits—(1) arri traditions, ceremonialism, insignia etiquette and sanctity of person, (2) ethical social principles probably Buddhistic, (3) political and land systems, (4) social classes and caste, (5) regattas and plank ships, (6) organized war on land and sea, (7) armor, (8) costume dance, (9) drama, and (10) chorus, (11) the guest house and (12) assembly halls. A thing that struck Handy as well as myself was the similarity of the tower like shrines of the Polynesians which he finds to be allied to Pallave tower like architecture and which are patent from the ceremonial adzes.

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IV. FESTIVALS AMONG THE RAWALTAS.

S. D. Bahuguna, M. A., Communicated by
D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.
of the Lucknow University.

In these cold regions where man has to fight hard with nature even for mere subsistence, and when the rugged hills present a spectacle of awe and drea, and the dense forests are the resorts of wild beasts making life unsafe, man would have been most miserable if he could not find some cheerful diversion from such an inhospitable environment. But man has always adapted himself to adverse cercumstances and dangerous surroundings. A scheme of festivities which gives an ample scope for dancing, songs and other amusements makes life gay and happy, and the environment, however strange and adverse, cannot overawe him. Such necessity might have made these people evolve a scheme of periodical festivitites, and seek relief in them so much so that now they are famous for the variety and importance of ceremonies all round the year. They have the *Baramasi Tiwar* which means that every month has got a festival. But in the winter, when little outdoor and field-work is possible the festivals are more important and are attended with greater care and attention. Mangsir, (Dec.), Pus (Jan), and Mau. (Feb.), are the months of their chief festivals.

In the month of *Mangsir* there are two festivals. One is called Deolanf and the other Bartotor.

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The former is celebrated on the day of Auns. The name Deolang is made up of two words, Deo and lang. The word Deo either means god or might be an abbreviation of Deo (a tree), and the word 'lang' means stem of a tree. So the name may either mean simply the stem of Deodwar or the stem of god or the god himself. The main feature of the festival is that some days before the coming of Auns the villagers go to a jungle of Deodwar and cut a green tree at the root. Then it is taken to the village with the beating of drums. The stem is kept in the yard of the village temple. On the day of Auns all the villagers come to the temple yard with some wool. The tree is brought in the middle of the yard and every one wraps it with wool from top to bottom. When the tree is entirely covered with wool the priest and the headman of the village set fire to the top of the tree and than all the villagers raise it and fix it in a hole two or three feet deep made for the purpose in the yard. They believe that their Masu *devata* (god) is appeased by such offering. The upper portion of the tree goes on burning. After this villagers go to their homes to attend to the delicious dishes prepared. In every house meat is procured and is prepared in abundance. Wine is also stored in good quantity for the occasion. After finishing their food and being fully stuffed with meat and wine all gather in the then temple yard and attend the tree throughout the night. Young men and young women sing songs of joy. The *badi* and *badnes* (dancers) dance throughout the whole

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night, and the whole night is passed in frivolous jollities. The next morning when some portion of the tree is burnt the fire is extinguished and all take the ashes of the burnt tree to their homes. They believe that it wards off all dangers as also the influence of the evil eye and that of malignant spirits. A similar custom is found amongst the Hindus of the plains, and is particularly popular in Bengal. On the night previous to *holi*, the custom is to construct a temporary hut of bamboo and straw, and at dead of night it is set fire to People take the ashes and half-burnt sticks and keep them in their houses, and it is believed that the ashes and the burnt sticks afford immunity to the members of the house from diseases and witch-craft.

Another festival in this month is called *Bartatōṛ*. The date for this is fixed by the elderly men of the village. The chief characteristic of this festival is expressed in the title of the festival itself. The name is derived from two words *Barta* and *ṭōṛ*. The first means a rope and the other means to break, i. e., to break a rope. In a particular locality where a few villages are closely situated the people of one of these villages will prepare a big rope of 'babla' (a kind of grass) and take it to an open field of the village. People from different villages gather there. When the number becomes sufficiently large, two parties are formed of equal strength. One, of the village which makes the rope and the other of the rest of the villages. Then they have a tug-of-war till the rope breaks

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finally. If one of the parties is found weak it is declared defeated and more men of the same party will be added to it so as to make the strength of both the parties nearly equal. In this way the pull continues till the rope breaks. Throughout the whole time the *bedas* of both the parties go on beating drums encouraging both the parties. After this, all go to the village where the rope was made. The villagers offer them tobacco and distribute '*Prasād*' made of wheat flour, *gur* and *ghee*, among them all and wine is also served to them. This festival has no religious significance whatsoever but is perhaps celebrated for the sake of amusement.

In the month of Pus, festivities are continued for twelve days beginning from the first day of the month. Every day there is a new festival. The names of the festivals for all the twelve days are Siriya, Askiya, Litkiya, Polya, Churlia, Khichria, Moraj, Athakhoru, Pakoria, Doral, and Baidoj. No religious motive in these festivities is discernible, they are all for pleasure and amusement. Every day in the morning the *badi* beat the drums before every house. Young men and women will sing songs and will have 'tandi' and 'dangri' dances. But the main difference is in the food prepared every day. A particular kind of dish is prepared on particular days. On the first day when they have Siriya festival they cook 'Sira'. Its preparation is follows. The pulse of Urad and Masur is put in water, after some hours when it is completely steeped it is washed and husks are thrown out. Then it is ground and

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salt is mixed with it, after which, the compound thus made is placed inside a bread which is then baked. This forms the chief preparation of the day and all people take it.

On the second day they have *Askiya.* The rejoicings continue in the same manner as before, but the change is only in food. On this day they prepare food which they name after the festival, i. e., *Aska.* The *to* rice flour or *fapru* is cooked with pulse. The earthen vessel in which it is prepared is called *Askal.* On the third day there is Latkiya which is a kind of *'halwa'.* First of all, some water is added in the flour and then cooked, adding some milk and ghee when it is half cooked. On the fourth day *Polya* festival is observed, the chief preparation for the day being *Pola.* It is a very thick bread of *fappu.* First of all a small thick bread is made, and wrapped in leaves and tied with a string. Then it is thrown in a burning oven. Only the outer leaves get burnt and the bread in baked by the excessive heat within the leaves. When the innermost covering of leaves begins to scorch, the bread is taken out as it is then baked well. On the fifth day there is *Churtia* for which *Churli* is prepared. It is a bread filled with pulse and fat of sheep or goat. On the sixth day there is *Khichriya* for which Khichri is prepared. It is the preparation of mixed rice and pulse together with salt and fat.

The seventh festival, which is more important,

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is styled *Moraj*. On this day there is more pomp and show and many special articles of food are prepared. Early in the morning all families generally kill goats on the roof of their houses. The reason for sacrificing animals on the roof is that they believe that such sacrifices appease the village god, and they are all protected from evil spirits. Meat is prepared in abundance, other special preparations consisting of *Swala* and *Pakora*. These are the articles which are specially prepared for the guests or to be sent as *Samun* (present) to relatives. *Swala* are prepared exactly like *puris* but the taste is quite different from that of *puris*, for the flour is kept under water for a full day which adds a peculiar flavour due to fermentation. *Pakoras* are also prepared like *Swala*, but they are of pulse flour. The eighth day is called *Athajhoru*. On this day the head of the goat killed on the *Moraj* day is cooked and members of other families are invited to share it. On the ninth day they have *Pakoria*. On this day big *Pakoras* being prepared in abundance are distributed among all families, every family receiving from others. On the tenth day is *Doral*. The chief preparation for the day is the bread of *Koda* filled with pulse. The method of its preparation is the same as that of *Sira* with the difference that the flour of koda is used.

The last two days are called the days of *Baidoj*. The chief feature of *Baidoj* does not lie in some special preparation of food. These are the days for invitations. Relatives are invited

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from other villages and these days are passed in great merry-making and much time is spent on dances, singing and other amusements. Wine is served in abundance and the best food that one can prepare is offered to guests. These festivals of Pus are given much greater importance in Fatehparbat than in any other part.

In the month of Mau (February) there are two festivals one man-panchami and the other Indory. The former is celebrated on the fifth day of Mau. This is mainly a religious festival. On this day Masu devata is worshipped with great pomp and show. All men and women of the village where the devata resides and of villages near about, go individually to worship the deity on that day with their offerings. But families of distant villages send one male member from each family to the village where the Masu devata resides, to propitiate him on behalf of all the members of his family. Besides many offerings, goats are commonly sacrificed. All who come to the village of Masu to worship Him, are supplied with food for the day from the stores of the temple of the devata, and all members of the village, who think the god to be specially their own consider the outsiders as their guests. After offerings and sacrifices in the morning, all people take their food with meat and wine and throughout the day singing and dancing are continued.

On the last day of this month they heve Indoro festival. A big ball of leather is prepared and is filled with soft mud. It becomes a hard

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ball. Two persons stand at some distance from each other and the ball is put in the middle. A third person whistles, and both of them run towards the ball and each tries to drag it on his side. The ball should not be raised from the ground, only rolling is allowed and in this way the man who rolls it successfully towards his own side up to a fixed distance wins. In this way the game is repeated again and again between different persons. All men and women of the locality come to watch the game. This is the main activity of the day. Other amusements of singing and dancing are as usual in other festivities.

In the month of Fagun (March) there is no special festival, but on the first day of the month all people prepare delicious food and the 'beda' goes round the whole village beating drums before every house.

In the month of Chet (April) there is Bishu festival. It is celebrated on the first day of the month. It is celebrated by a play with a Dhanush (bow), arranged near the residence of the village-god. One man dances and another tries to strike him below his knees with an arrow shot from a bow. The dancer will always be cautious to avoid the arrow below his knees while the other will try his utmost to shoot correctly. The dancer will jump high or bow down, proceed forward or go back as he may choose to escape the direction of the shot. If the man shoots correctly in three attempts he wins and two other persons begin the game. In this way for a long time, the game is continued amidst the

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beating of drums, singing and dancing.

The first days of the months of Baisak (May), Jet (June) and Asar (July) are taken as festival days on which meat and wine are consumed in large quantities and much time at night is passed in singing aud dancing. In the month of Sawan (August) they have the religious festival which they call as '*Sawan ku Melu*', on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd days of the month. The Masu devata is propitiated and many offerings and sacrifices are made to the god.

In the month of Bhadaun (September), there is the Bil festival. It is celebrated on the first three days of the month. On the first day some seeds of Wheat, Laya, Bhat, and Kauni are put together in the leaves of pumpkin or Pindalu. Some pebbles and a stem of Koka are also put there. All these things are tied with leaves all around, leaving a small hole through which water is poured in. After two days when the seeds begin to germinate they are taken out and are thrown over each other. They believe that as seeds take root, so all of them will prosper and will have more sons.

On the second day amidst the beating of drums the *devata* of the village is taken out in a palanquin. The palanquin is held on the shoulders of two men and it is felt that it leans to the left and right by turns without the slighest effort made by the persons carrying it. It is believed that the *devata* himself dances and his dance is evinced by such movements of the palanquin itself. Around the palanquin all men

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and women dance and sing songs. After sometime the *devata* is placed in the temple and the 'Hariyali', which is grown especially for the occasion in all houses and the temple, is put by men and women on their heads. Women tie a bunch of Hariyali to the hind-locks and men tie it to their caps hanging on one side. The weight of the Hariyali on one side would disturb the balance of the cap, and hence there is a string in the middle of the cap from within to tie it to the 'chufli' (hair) so that the cap may not fall down on account of the weight of the cap on one side. On the third day friends and relations are invited do dine at one another's place and the whole day is passed in merry-making.

In the month of Asuj (October) there are Navratra festivals for nine days. The goddess of the village is worshipped by the village priest on behalf of the whole village on all these days. On the last day many goats are sacrificed but the most unique and remarkable thing that is to be noticed is the sacrifice of a male buffalo. A buffalo is brought to the temple yard. The priest makes a circular mark with the flour of wheat called 'Chakra' on the yard. After uttering a few words in praise of the goddess while throwing water on the *chakra*, the priest asks his assistants to bring the buffalo there. Then the buffalo is worshipped and some food is also offered to the poor creature to eat, which partakes of grass and other things thus provided, least suspecting—its approaching doom. Then the priest

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sacrifices the buffalo to the goddess and the headman strikes it with his sword at the spot. Then the buffalo is let loose and allowed to run. All present, with swords, 'Thamales' and sticks, follow it and strike it at different parts of its body. In this way numerous wounds are made upon its body. The poor creature runs from one field to another, at last after receiving too many wounds it is unable to run and drops down where it is brutally killed. It is believed that the fields where the buffalo runs through and bleeds would yield a plentiful crop and as its blood gushes forth so the vegetation will sprout and the grains will be as big as the drops of its tears.

Pando ku Srhadh :—There is a religious festival named *Pando ku Shradh*. It may be celebrated at any time in the year. It is either arranged on an occasion of some good luck and happiness in the village or ill luck and suffering, in one case to show their gratitude towards gods and in the other in order to propitiate them. These people take Pandavas as their gods and think that when *Pinds* (oblations) are offered in their name they are pleased. In the morning all will keep fast and *Pinds* will be given at the place which is called Pandavu-ki-Chori in the village. All will gather there. The priest will perform some *puja* and the 'beda' will beat his drums. Some of the people standing will begin to shake and all eyes will be attracted towards them. And they will proceed to the centre and dance in the belief that the spirits of Pandoes have entered their bodies. They will strike red-hot iron rods on

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their naked bodies, will handle them easily and will lick them with their tongues. Not only this, but they would take wine and food in such a huge quantity as is beyond human power to consume in a single day. They would sometimes take in their mouths burning coals and eat them. After sometime, the spirits will appear to leave their bodies and they will drop down senseless with their teeth clinched and fists closed. Then some people will open their mouths and fists forcibly and they will gradually gain consciousness. They do not remember anything that they have done in the course of their divine dance. They feel no pain or burning sensation on their bodies or tongues and do not feel uneasiness due to the excessive eating. Such a dance which is called *Pando-ki-nach*, and the 'pinds' given in the name of Pandoes are believed to appease the gods who protect the village against all ill-luck and bad times. In the evening all take food. The use of wine is prohibited on this occasion, and sex is inhibited for the night. The commotion set up in the spirit world on this occasion makes the spirits restive and the sexual act is therefore tabued for the night, for fear that they might cause harm to the people who indulge in it or the future child that may be conceieved in the night.

There are some festivals which were once stopped by the State but are now celebrated by special permission from the State authorities. Such festivals are Mon and Bedwart. In the former there is the loss of animal life and in the latter there is risk of human life. So now, the State

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exercises its discretion in allowing such festivals in different parts in such a way that their number may not increase. The dates are fixed after consultation with the State authorities. State officials with police powers are deputed for management and control of such festivals.

Mon:—One month before the actual day of this festival all the people of a locality begin to collect 'Bhanglo', an indigenous herb. It will be cut into very small bits and then ground. Each family will collect a fixed quantity. On the day fixed for the festivals, people from different villages will gather on the bank of some stream with their musical instruments. The number of people who attend such festivals exceed ten or fifteen thousand. The two ends of the stream, the upper and the lower, are dammed up with stones, planks and mud. Then the poisonous substance is thrown in the stream in large quantities by all present. The fish of the stream get intoxicated and come up to the surface to be collected in heaps on the banks. The priest worships the River god and offers heaps of dead fish to it. After this the heaps are roughly distributed between different villages and then between different families. Some are fried then and there and are taken with the cooked food brought from home. The whole day is passed in dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. The songs sung on this occasion are particularly obscene and vulgar. It is believed that by such sacrifice the River-god

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is appeased and thus agricultural prosperity is insured for years to come.

Bedwart:—This is another festival which can only be celebrated if the State authorities give permission which of course is rather difficult to secure, for it entails risk to human life. In the past, it is said, that a very long rope was used to join two peaks of unequal height situated a mile or two apart. The *beda* was seated on the higher end of the rope and slipped down to the other. But due to frequent accidents which were always fatal, it was forbidden by the State. Recently people have clamoured against such State interference in their social and religious activities and have attributed the cause of failure of rain and harvest to the non-observance of their magico-religious practices and festivals so that they have persuaded the State to allow them to celebrate such festivals only under limitations such as that the distance will be short and no act of violence would be perpetrated against the '*beda*' as was the usual practice before.

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INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Folk-Lore* for March, 1931, Mr. F. J. Richards in an article on *The place of Folklore in a Regional Survey*, points that the reason why the ordinary member of the British Parliament cannot understand the mind and feeling of India is "because the ideas of an 80 per cent urban little island are not applicable to a 90 per cent rural Sub-continent". Mr. Richards thinks that this lack of understanding by the Britishers of the mind and feeling of India can be removed if folklore is given a place in the national system of education in Great Britain.

In the same number of *Folklore*, Mr, A. R. Wright in reviewing the new volume on "*Oraon Religion and Customs*" by the editor of this journal, writes, "The new volume is so packed with facts carefully observed, systematically arranged, and described in western terms that it would be impossible to do it justice in a short review, and can only commend it heartily for a permanent place on the shelf occupied by authoritative text books on Indian folk-life, and make a few running comments". He then proceeds to give a summary of the some of the interesting features of Orāon culture as brought out in the volume.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March 1932, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy contributes a paper on "Chota-Nagpur, the Chutiyas and the Bhūiyas," in which be

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shows that the derivation of the name 'Chōṭā-Nāgpur' from a people called the 'Chutiyas' and the spelling of the name as "Chutia Nagpur" are incorrect, and that the Bhuiyas did not occupy Chōṭā Nāgpur before the Mūṇḍās, as is sometimes suggested.

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1930 (no. 1) issued in March 1931, Mr. M. M. Chatterji contributes an article on *Bramhinism and Caste*, in which he shows by quotations and instances from ancient Hindu works, from the Rig Veda and the Upanishads downwards, that caste was a merely secular institution and did not touch spiritual life, it being confined within the social and political sphere.

In the *Indian Historical Qurterly* for December 1931 Prof. K. M. Gupta writes "On some Castes and Caste-origins in Sylhet", Mr. Jogesh Chandra Roy on "Fire-arms in Ancient India", and Miss Mrinal Das Gupta on "Early Vishnuism and Nārāyaṇīyā Worship".

In the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, for March 1932, Mr. Dhirendra Lal Das contributes an article on "Sex and Saints". Mr. Das discusses the insufficiency of the contemporary school of psychology which regards religion is an expression of sex repressed or inhibited or sablimated. The *libido* consequent upon repression finds in God the substitute for the original object—the flesh. Mysticism or religions longing is the same libidinal attitude, with the only difference that the spiritual object has been substituted for a secular

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one." The author lays emphasis on the view that "there is an independent congenital impulse which is responsible for this spiritualisation" or sublimation or by whatever other name it is called. "There is a steady evolution of this imnate impulse throughout life in some men (who become Saints and Buddhas)—which make the connative continuity of life palpable".

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, for 1931, Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes articles on a Punjabi Nursery Story and its Bengali Parallel; 'A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur', 'On a Birhor Folktale of Wicked Queen Type', and 'Notes on a Few Village Deities of the Faridpur District', Mr. S. S. Mehta contributes a 'Folklore about Jagannath as connected with a Turtle and a Crow, and Dr. Sir J. J. Modi 'A Note on the Mating Seasons among Men'.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for April, 1932, Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his articles on 'Studies in Bird-myths' and 'Studies in Plant Myths'.

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIII (1931-32), Mr. Ashutosh Biswas contributes notes from the Aiterya Brāmhaṇa on "Society and Culture in the Bramhana Period", and Mr. A. K. Sur, contributes a paper on "Beginnings of Linga Cult in India" to which he attributes a Non-Aryan origin (as opined by other writers before him) dating from Neolithic times

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Woman in Primitive Mother-right Societies.—*By Dr. J. H. Ronhaar (J. B. Wolters, Groningen, Holland, 1931). Pp. 541. Price Dutch guilders 9.*

This is a thoughtful and strictly scientific study of an important problem in the Science of Man. The accomplished author rigorously follows inductive and statistical methods in his investigations among 32 peoples, and, as a result of his investigations, finds fault with many of the accepted dogmas on the subject. The book deserves careful study by the student of Ethnology. It is well printed and well got-up, but we miss an index.

The Search for Man's Ancestors.—*By Prof. G. Elliot Smith (London: Watts & Co.). Pp. 56. Price 1 S. net.*

This little book contains a concise but lucid popular account of the search for and discoveries of the earliest representatives of the human family,—Pithecanthropus, Hiedelberg Man and Piltdown Man and the Peking Man. The characteristic features of these skeletal remains of early man are also mentioned. The arguments for and against different theories of the cradle of mankind are briefly discussed. On this question, Dr. Elliot Smith admits that "we have no decisive information as to the place or the time of birth of the human family", but points to "certain indications

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which suggest that the first step of transformation of apes into men may have occurred north of the Himalayas". The book will be read with interest by all students of man, and will be read with delight and profit by the general reader.

Early Man, His Origin, Development and Culture.— *(Benn. London 1931). Pp. XII+176. With 13 Plates. Price 8 S. 6 d. net.*

This is a collection of seven open public lectures delivered by six eminent authorities under the auspices of the Royal Anthropological Institute in October 1929 and March 1930.

These six Lectures are on *The Evolution of Man* by Prof. G. Elliot Smith; on *The Evolution of the Human Races, Past and Present*, by Sir Arthur Keith; on *The Anthropological History of the Modern Englishman*, by Dr. F. G. Parsons; on "*Most Primitive Art*", by Mr. M. C. Burkitt, and on *The Beginnings of Agriculture*, by Mr. Harold J. E. Peake; and on *The Discovery and Use of Metals* (in 2 Lectures) by Prof. J. R. Myers. The names of the lecturers vouch for the first-rate excellence of this volume. The Royal Anthropological Institute has earned the gratitude of all students by publishing these illuminating lectures by such eminent authorities.

A Bibliography of Sex Rites and Customs.— *By Roger Goodland. (Routledge, London. 1931). Pp. 752. Price 63 S. net.*

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The author of this volume has attempted a task of considerable magnitude, for it purports to be an annotated record of books, articles and illustrations of sexual rites and customs in all languages. It is inevitable that several references should escape the author's attention. Thus, for instance, we find that no reference is made to the interesting fertility rites and other magical rites at the village domitories connected with procreation among the *Orāons of Chota Nagpur* described in a book of that name by the editor of this Journal and published in 1915. However, the volume of material that the author has so laboriously collected and systematically arranged will be of immense help to students of the subject.

An Introduction to Egyptian Religion.—*By A. W. Shorter, (Kegan Paul, London 1931). Pp. 139. Price 8 S. 6 d. net.*

In this well got-up volume the author gives a short but lucid up-to-date account of Religion in Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty which is the most splendid era of Egyptian civilization. The fundamental ideas and the salient features of Egyption religious belief and ritual have been clearly brought out by the author. The author treats his subject in the right spirit of sympathetic, though scientific, enquiry. The book will be welcomed not only by the student of Egyptology but by the general reader as well.

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Egyptian Temples.—*By Margaret A Murray (Sampson Low, Marston & Co. London. 1931). Pp. X+245. Price 12 S. 6 d. net.*

This handy volume gives a rapid survey of the temple architecture of Egypt and Nubia with sufficient details which will satisfy the inquisitiveness of the general reader and may stimulate some to further study of the subject. The history of many of these temples is traced by the author down to Christian times. What will particularly appeal to the student of Man is that Miss Murray does not overlook the beliefs and customs connected with these temples at the present day.

Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization.—*By S. Khuda Buksh, Vol. I. & II. (Calcutta University, 1929 & 1930). Pp. 356 & pp. 304.*

These two volumes contain very valuable contributions to the study of Islamic civilization. They consist of original articles as well as translations from German, and deal with the various phases of Islamic culture. The learned author has a wide reputation for scholarship, and the volumes before us amply testify to his scholarship and sound judgment.

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The British Association for the Advancement of Science. A Retrospect, 1831-1931.—*By O.J.R. Howarth 1931. Pp. 332.*

This is the Centenary second Edition of an excellent summary review of the activities of the British Association for the hundred years ending in 1931. It consists of nine chapters headed as follows: I. Foundation and objects; II. The Association and the Progress of Science; III. Organization; IV. Annual Meetings: The Association overseas. V. The Association and Research: Kew observatory. VI. Some British Association Researchers.. VII. The Association and the State. VIII. Down House. IX. Retrospect and Prospect. Two Appendices giving a classified list of grants paid to the Association in aid of Research from 1834 to 1931, dates and places of annual meetings with biographical notes on their Presidents, complete the volume. A number of interesting illustrations including reproductions of portraits of Darwin, Crookes, and Rayleigh is given. This volume will be read with interest by scholars as well as the general reader.

Hebrewisms of West Africa : From the Nile to the Niger.—*By J. J. Williams (Lincoln Macveagh. The Dial Press, New York.) Pp. IX+443 Price 7. 50$.*

This volume is the result of eleven years of intensive research after five years' residence in Jamaica during which the author came in close

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contact with the Ashantees and was deeply impressed by the striking difference between the Jamaica Black and all the other negro types that he had ever encountered. The conclusion to which his researches led the author is that—"A Jewish element is to be found in the parent-stock of the Ashanti. This element has every indication of being lineally connected with the Hebrews of pre-Babylonian days presumably through the refugees in Egypt." The author "cannot postulate with any degree of certitude for this theory" and says, 'it must for the present remain a theory." But he claims to have at least proved this much: "Hebrewisms, real or apparent, actually do exist among the Ashanti, and the most plausible explanation of them as a collective entity appears to be a diffusion of Hebraic culture that found its way long centuries ago, from the Nile to the Niger." Whether further research will finally establish the suggestion of a Jewish racial element among the Ashantees or not, the valuable and painstaking researches of the author indicate a new and interesting view-point which deserves to be further examined.

The Ayar-Incas.—*By Miles Poindexter. (Horace Liveright New York. Williams and Norgate, London. 1930). Vol I. Movements, Culture and American Relationships. Pp. 274. Vol. II Asiatic Origins. Pp. 359 Price 42S. net*

The author of these handsomely got-up and

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well-illustrated volumes, the result of his studies during a five years' residence in Peru, seeks to give a new interpretation of the relationship between pre-Columbian America and Europe, Africa and Asia, and puts forward the novel hypothesis of a diffusion west and east from a common centre in Asia rather than by any direct pre-historic connection between Europe, Africa, or the Near East and pre-Columbian America. The author has also attempted to derive many features of Ayar language and relegion from Peru, and to identify the Ayars of Peru with the Arva of Asia.

The author's reasonings do not however appear to be convincing.

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1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—*Twelve Rupees.*

SOME OPINIONS ON THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and inteligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :—"In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :— "I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the American Anthropologist. The

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book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in a very effective from. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

The Nature (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

The Discovery. (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the Oraon social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

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A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

The Statesman (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

The Forward (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works— *The Birhors*, *The Mundas* and *The Uraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author s deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

The Modern Review (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

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of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on *The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

N. B.

As only a limited number of copies have been printed, intending purchasers are requested to place their orders with the undersigned without delay.

The Manager,
'MAN IN INDIA' Office,
Church Road, Ranchi,
Chota-Nagpur, B. N. Ry.

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,

Church Road, Ranchi.

2. **THE BIRHORS** : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. (Ranchi : "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, Price Rs. 10/- ; or 15 s. 1925).

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities a mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

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.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., SC. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indin Ethnology.....

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DR. ROLAND B. DIXON, A. M., PH. D., Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University writes :—

.....You are certainly doing work to be proud of in the studies you have published of the Chota-Nagpur tribes, and anthropologists are in your debt. If only we could have similar studies of all the wilder peoples of India, how fine would be !.....

THE NATURE, (London: September 19, 1925):—

.....Students of Indian anthropology are deeply indebted to Mr. Roy for the light he has thrown on the past and present culture of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. In the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* he has opened up new ground in the archaeology of his area. His monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons* are classics. "The Birhors" is yet another first-rate study; a study not merely of an obscure tribe but also of the workings of that mysterious complex of thought and feeling which go to make up human culture..... Mr. Roy is never a theoriser or a partisan; his diction is simple and precise, his inspiration comes straight from the hearts of the humble folk he has made his friends.

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3. **THE MUNDAS AND THEIR COUNTRY.** With numerous illustrations, and an Introduction by SIR EDWARD GAIT, K. C. S. I., C I E., I. C. S., PH. D.

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MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XII. } APRIL—SEPT., 1932. { Nos. 2 & 3.

I. CYNOTHERAPY.

By

J. H. Hutton.

Cynotheraphy, the practice of healing by means of dogs is of great antiquity and almost world-wide distribution. In it the use of the dog may be merely magical or ceremonial, or the parts of the dog itself may be used as medecine or as ingredients therein. Primitive thought does not clearly distinguish between what is medicinal The domestication of the dog dates from the mesolithic age and its use as food is widespread and has generally some ceremonial significance, a significance perhaps due to the great value of the dog to the ancient hunter or shepherd. Thus in the Nicobar Islands where the dog is apparently a tribal totem it is sacrificed, then cooked and eaten. The Lhota Nagas of Assam sacrifice (and eat) dogs at a propitiatory ceremony because the dog, being the cleverest of all animals, is therefore the most gratifying to the spirits. Among the Igorot of Luzon the dog is used as a ceremonial food and in mediæval Europe it was a favourite animal

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in offerings to the Devil. In Argos the dog was sacrificed to a fertility god and in Sparta and Caria to the god of war; the Macedonians and Bœotians sacrificed dogs in purification rites and so apparently did the Romans, as Pliny mentions dogs as *vivi in furca sambucea fixi (Nat. Hist. XXIX—IV)*, they fastened live dogs in a wooden fork precisely as a Kuki or Naga of Assam impales them on a bamboo spike at this day. The dog also appears to have been eaten as food in Rome. In 813 the Bulger leader, Krum, sacrificed dogs before Constantinople. The Semas mark a boundary by burning a live puppy, and a similar use of dogs as sacrifices on important occasions such as in peace-makings, in cementing friendships, in taking oaths and even in rain-making is common.

But though these uses of the dog may be merely the outcome of a vague feeling of reverence, caused by its sagacity and valuable qualities, such a feeling as that recorded of the Kenyahs of Borneo, there seems to be more than this at the bottom of its use as medicine, and it may be that there is, or has been, an idea that the soul matter of human beings and of dogs is of similar quality and that the latter can usefully be substituted for the former for that reason. It has been suggested (Carveth Read, in his *Origin of Man*, 1925), that the sympathy between men and dogs is due to the fact that both are descended from ancestors that hunted in packs. In any case hunting dogs are often treated as human beings; if an Angami Naga kills one, he must leave the village for five days, that of his departure and return

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being kept as communal tabu days as if he had committed homicide on a small scale. Hunting dogs were crowned in ancient Italy, are buried with particular respect by the Naga tribes of Assam, and are allotted a definite share of the game killed by the Orāons of Chōṭā Nāgpur in India, by the Khasis and the Naga tribes in Assam, and by the Tinguians of the Philippine Islands. So too canine have been substituted for human victims in sacrifices on the Nile, in Hawaii, in the Naga Hills, and perhaps in Ireland, and the same idea is no doubt present in the use of dogs for sacrifice in illness by the Koryaks of Siberia, in New Guinea, in Hawaii and by the Kuki tribes of Assam and Burma, the dog being the sacrifice *par excellence* in illness among the Thado, Lushei and Chins. The Bura and Aru islanders of Indonesia eat dogs to acquire bravery as do the Kansas Indians of the U. S. A. The Romans sacrificed dogs to the Bona Dea and at the Lupercalia. The Huancas of Peru had the same idea and ate dogs at their greatest festival, while the Angami Nagas also make a practice of eating dogs at their important annual festival, the Sekrengi, which is intended to secure the health of the community during the ensuing year. The Naga tribes all regard dog's flesh as a valuable tonic and as generally health-giving, while the flesh, blood or fat of dogs has long been regarded as medicinal in Europe. Hippocrates advocated a diet of dog-flesh in certain illnesses, as consumption, and Pliny remarks "*catulos lactentes adeo puros existimabant ad cibum*" (sucking puppies were held fit for food). Culpeper in his *Pharmacopœia Londiniensis* (1659) recommends newly whelped puppy as an

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ingredient in liniment for bruised or wounded limbs, and the *Pharmacopée Universelle* (1763) gives directions for the preparation of ointment, oil and liniment from dogs for use in rheumatism while a remedy called "dog oil" is still used in the north of England for arthritis. Dog, too, is a common nostrum against poison; "*Sanguine canino contra toxica nihil præstantium*" (nothing is more potent against poison than dog's blood) says Pliny again *(loc. cit.)*, and in Ireland "the blood of many dogs" forms part of a charm against poisoning, while the Angami Naga antidote is the eyes of a living dog, plucked out and swallowed. The hair of the dog that bit you is a remedy for dog-bite in Assam as well as in Great Britain, while in China there is medicinal virtue in the hair of any dog.

Of course the belief in the virtue of dog flesh may be due, or partly due, to the observation of the healing effects of a dog's licking its own wounds. *Langue de chien sert de medecine*, says the French proverb, while the scriptural case of Lazarus seems to contain that idea. Cures were effected at Epidaurus in the fourth century B.C. by the licking of the patient by dogs sacred to Aesculapius, to which dogs the Athenians actually offered sacrifices. The idea is still current, for a whole family in County. Durham in 1921 A. D. attributed their recovery from scabies to the licking of a pet dog (*The Lancet*, Nov. 1921). Lazarus, however, succumbed to the treatment.*

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II. METEMPSYCHOSIS.

By
J. H. Hutton.

The theory of transmigration of souls is usually associated with the teachings of Pythagoras and was held by a sect of early Christian heretics spoken of by Jeremy Collier as "Metempsychi". The idea, however, much older than any of these creeds, exists throughout the world. Where the passage of the soul, or the vital essence, into some particular form is associated, as by the Garos of Assam, with ideas of retribution for the sins or accidents of this life, the influence of Buddhism or Hinduism has probably been at work. The primitive idea, independent of moral teaching, is bound up with the conception of an objective soul and often with ideas as to a plurality of souls in a single individual, one of which is separable and able to go in and out through the mouth or nostrils. Thus the Poso-Alfures of the Celebes believe in three souls, the *inosa* or vital principle, the *angga* or intellectual, and the *tanoana* or divine element which leaves during sleep and which is of the same nature in every plant and animal. This separable soul is clearly a conception based on the phenomena of dreams taken to be actual experiences undergone during sleep, and postulating some sort of embodiment able to roam while the body sleeps. This soul must be small enough to leave by the mouth, and so we find it appearing as a manikin, in India, for instance, and in the Celebes; as a snake, a weasle or a mouse as

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in Germany, [1] or as an insect as in Further India. But the most convenient form will be one that can fly, and therefore account for the distances apparently traversed during sleep. Thus the soul is commonly spoken of as "flying" in Greek, and represented as a butterfly or a bee as, indeed, all over Europe, from Ireland to Lithuania, in Assam, Burma, Japan and the Pacific. [2] So too the soul not unnaturally appears as a bird,— in Europe, the dove is the commonest and poles bearing pigeons were erected over Lombard graves, but the soul also appears in the forms of ducks, ravens, owls or hawks, and as a hawk again it appears in Egypt and in Assam. This belief in separable soul with an insect or other form must obviously influence beliefs in the eschatology of the soul. We find accordingly that the soul is believed to pass into an insect on the decease of the body. Thus the Angami Naga credits the soul with a number of subsequent existences in insect form, while the Chang holds that the souls of those who can sing become cicadas but the souls of others dung-beetles. No doubt there have been contributory ideas in this belief in reincarnation. Thus the Bakongs of Borneo seem to

[1] Thus when king Gunthram slept, a mouse ran out of his mouth and his henchman laid a sword across the stream over which the mouse ran, when the mouse returned into the king he awoke and said he had dreamed that he had crossed an iron bridge.

[2] Thus the Angami Nagas relate how a man troubled by night-mares slept with a weapon and pursued the evil thing that troubled him, and he saw only a butterfly flit into a friend's house. In the morning the friend related that he had been horribly frightened in the night by dreaming that a man had pursued him with a weapon.

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believe that their dead are reincarnated in the bear-cats which frequent their raised coffins; wood-boring, wasps and hornets take up their abode in the wooden soul-figures put up by some tribes of Assam, and we find Nagas and Lusheis regarding wasps and hornets (among other insects) as souls.

If the soul can leave an individual during sleep and re-enter him and can continue an independent existence after death in insect form, it should be able to enter and be reborn in another individual; accordingly we find this idea equally general. So in Germany a dying man's heart passes into his brother, whose courage is doubled; in the Garo hills the soul, after a sojourn in the abode of the dead, returns for another incarnation. The range of this conception of reincarnation is indicated by the frquency of tabus on giving children names already borne by living members of the family. The notion is that identity of name implies identity of personality and that one of the two bearers would die. Hence the Lhotas, for instance, never give a child the name of a living relative. A belief in reincarnation within the family would naturally be strengthened by the recurrence of marked family resemblances. In any case a belief in the reincarnation of human souls is indicated by such rites as those of the Akikuyu women of East Africa, who, in order to have children, worship at a *ficus* tree inhabited by the souls of the dead, or of the Konyak Nagas of Assam, who perform ceremonies over phallic cists containing

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skulls of deceased persons in order to secure the birth of children of similar sex to that of the skull.

Reincarnation is not confined to animal forms. The stories of trees that grow up from the graves of lovers such as Tristram and Iseult and twine themselves together are familiar in Europe and the human soul also reappears in a flower growing on the grave. In the case of flowers springing from drops of blood, as from that of Ajax, the soul is possibly regarded as located actually in the blood itself. In Further Asia and elsewhere the soul goes into the crops, and funeral ceremonies are accommodated to the agricultural year so as to afford the crop the full benefit of the soul matter from those who have died recently, and in the case of the Karens of Burma a specific theory is evolved of a cycle of life on these lines, and the Lushei theory, that the soul takes the form of dew and is reincarnated in the body on which it descends, is probably another version of the Karen theory.

The idea of Transmigration has been influenced and inevitably confused by ideas as to the external soul, generally associated with magicians, where the vital principle depends on a soul kept in an animal in the forest, or in an egg below the sea, etc, which has to be secured before the magician can be killed, and by ideas as to totemism and lycanthropy, and the beliefs in the reincarnation of the soul in predatory forms, such as tigers (India and Sumatra), sharks (Melanesia) or alligators (Africa) have perhaps arisen in connection with these beliefs. *

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III. THE SVASTIKA.

By Principal Kalipada Mitra, m. a., b. l.

The Svastika is an auspicious symbol. It is believed to have been used by the Aryans for religious purposes from hoary antiquity. We shall see later on that it was not, however, the exclusive monopoly of the Aryan race. It represented the movement of the sun; and was connected with the worship of the sun as Apollo, Sūrya, Odin or other sun-gods. Havell, writing on the Mauryan Art, says: "The Swastika, which was a sacrificial symbol indicating the direction of the circumambulatory rite *(Pradakshiṇa)* of the altar, was contained in the cross-roads of the Aryan village plan running east and west, north and south, which.....were terminated by the four principal gates dedicated to the four positions of the sun." [1] An elaborate description of constructing the palace in the Svastika form has been furnished in Chapter LV, *Mervādishoḍaś'aprāsādādilakshaṇam* in the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra.* [2] Its *lakshaṇam* (mark) has been given in Chap. LVI (p. 22), and further description on pp. 103 and 104 where its auspicious character is emphasised :—*Athābhidadhmah prāsā-*

[1] E. B. Havell—*The History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 109. It was a formation used in the Aryan military camp for defending the gateways—see Havell—*Ancient and Mediœval Architecture of India* pp. 16—17.

[2] *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* Vol. II. in Gækward's Oriental Series, pp. 5, 6.

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dam Svastikam Svastidāyakam Devāsuragaṇair. vandyam yakshasiddhamahoragaih. Again in Chapter LXV, *Bhūmijaprāsādalakshaṇādhyāyah* we find, *Athāshṭas'ālām vakshyāmo...bhūmijātishu (p. 140). Teshvādyah svastiko'nyas'ca vajrasvastikasañjnitah,* and further again in Chapter LXVI, *Maṇḍapalakshaṇādhyāyah* (p. 207), and Chapter LXIX, *Jagatīlakshaṇādhyāyah* (p. 225).

It greatly amuses us to find S'arvilaka, Master and Professor of the Stealing Art, discoursing on the several styles of burgling *(sandhiccheda)* in Act III, of Mṛcchakaṭika, viz., *padmavyākos'am, bhāskaram, bālacandram, vāpī, vistīrṇam, svastikam,* and *pūrṇakumbham* and ultimately deciding on the last. [3] It occurs also in folklore, e. g., in the *Kathā Saritsāgara (svahastasvastikastanī).*

The Svastika symbol figures also on ancient Indian coins. We may take for example the coin of king Amoghabhuti. The legend on the obverse is *Raño Kuṇimdasa Amoghabhūtisa Mahārājasa* and on the reverse among other symbols that of the Svastika. [4] This Symbol along with others appeared on the punchmark coin. Mr. Theobald pointed out that they "occur in such diverse lands as Assyria, Egypt, India", and traced fourteen of these signs which were identical with those figured

[3] cf. the corresponding passage in Bhasa's *Chārudatta*, Act III, p. 73 (Trivandrum edition), where eight different styles of making a hole in the building are enumerated, but not the *svastikam.*

[4] *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 539. and Plate V.

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on the sculptured stones of Scotland. "This raises", says Dr. D. R. Bhadarkar, "an issue of paramount importance for the history of origin of some of the marks punched on the *kārshāpaṇas*. I will cite here two or three instances only to show what I mean. Take first the Svastika, which is regarded as a symbol of auspiciousness in India to this day. We are so much accustomed to perceive this symbol in the modern homes and on the antiquities of India that we are apt to suppose that it is an auspicious symbol peculiar to this country alone. And if it is found in Japan, China and Tibet in ancient as well as modern times, it can be explained as being imported there from India. What is, however, noteworthy is that it is found in the prehistoric antiquities of Spain, Portugal, Greece and even America. With regard to this symbol M. Cartailhac says as follows: 'Modern Christian archæologists have obstinately contended that the Svastika was composed of four gamma and so have called it the Croix Gammee. But the Ramayana placed it on the boat of Rama long before they had any knowledge of Greek. It is found on a number of Buddhist edifices; the sectarians of Vishnu placed it as a sign upon their foreheads. Burnouf says, it is the Aryan sign *par excellence*. It was surely a religious emblem in use in India fifteen centuries before the Christian era, and thence it spread to every part. In Europe it appeared about the middle of the civilization of the bronze age, and we find it pure or transformed into a cross, on a mass of objects in metal or pottery,

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during the first age of iron, (.....most exhaustive treatment of it by Mr. Thomas Wilson in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for ... 1894...) Though in modern times the Svastika is confined to India, Tibet, China and Japan, in ancient days it was well-known all over the southern and western portion of Europe and made its appearance as early as the bronze age". [5]

Another symbol with which the Svastika may possibly have some association and is found on *kārshāpaṇas* is what Mr. Theobald calls "a star of eight points". "But precisely the same sign", says Dr. Bhandarkar, "has been observed on the megalithic pottery exhumed by Mr. Yazdani from the pre-historic coins in the Nizam's Dominions as will be seen from no. 69 of his 'Diagram of of marks'. The same symbol is noticeable also in the neolithic rock-carvings in Edakal in Malabar"... The so-called *Ujjain symbol*, which designation is applied to an object which consists of a cross with each of its arms terminating in a ball or circle, is found in other parts of India. And precisely this object is found in crosses on the Kassite Cylinders in western Asia.

Now punch-marked coins were found in large numbers among the ashes of men who constructed the primitive tombs known as the Pāṇḍukulis (or kistvaens) over every part of Southern India. No class of Hindus, according to Caldwell, knew

[5] D. R. Bhandarkar— *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (1921), pp. 103—10.

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anything of the race to which these Druidical remains belonged. 'Pāṇḍukuris' in Tamil means the pits, graves, or built cairns of the Pandus who perhaps built these mysterious structures. And these graves would be as ancient as and not later than 1500 B. C. Connecting all these things Bhandarkar opines that the coins, *kārshāpaṇas*, (and the several symbols on them) picked up in pre-historic cairns must have been handed down from pre-historic times. We have thus seen that the Svastika, the "star of eight points", the so-called Ujjain symbol, were indeed pre-historic signs, associated with megalithic culture and pre-historic burial, and therefore properly belong to pre-historic study. Many of these symbols were found outside India. We shall see the significance of this.

Now the Svastika symbol forms part of the pottery designs of early American pottery. [6] The symbol is found on objects exhumed from the prehistoric burial-mounds of the United States and the monumental relics of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians. The Spanish conquerors expressed their marvel at this symbol claiming religious veneration and worship amongst the natives of Central and South America.

The Svastik symbol was likewise found on numerous prehistoric relics in Italy and elsewhere. In an article in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XV) entitled "*Discursive Contributions towards the Comparative study of Asiatic Symbolism*" Mr. H.G.

[6] *Manuel D' Archeologie Americaine*, p. 169.

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M. Murray Aynsle writes: "The Svastika has been found in nearly every country in Europe. In a letter from Prof. Max Müller to Dr. Schliemann quoted in the latter's *Ilium* or the Cities of Troy, at which place this symbol and also sun-symbols have been found in great numbers, the Professor says: 'It is found in Bishop's Island near Königsvalde on the right bank of the Oder; on a vase discovered at Reichersdorf near Gulben, a whole row; St. Ambrose at Milan; in the Catacombs at Rome it occurs 1000 times, on the wall paintings at Pompeii; on a Celtic urn found at Shropham in Norfolk now in the British Museum; on ancient Athenian and Corinthian vases, on coins of Leneas of Syracuse and on the large mosaic in the royal garden at Athens. It is found in Hungary and China as well amongst the Ashantees and Yucatan" (p 94.) He suggests that the sign may originally have been an emblem of the sun (as a wheel) and of fire, both conveying light and warmth. There is a symbolism called the double sun-snake of Scandinavia. Such symbols were discovered on objects in the excavations at Roman Villa at Beading in the Isle of Wight and on a stone at Pen Arthur in South Wales.

Dr. Schliemann discovered remarkable hoards in the stratum of Troy. The Svastika symbol here discovered was very much like the double snake symbol. It appeared in peculiar circumstances which leave no doubt as to its character, viz. as a fertility symbol which has been invariably regarded as an auspicious sign throughout the world. "Among the objects in lead", says Dr.

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A. Mackenzie, "special reference should be made to a figurine of the mother-goddess. It is of somewhat conventional design, like the terra-cotta figurines found in Cyprus, Mesopotamia and Greece, and those of marble and other stone in the Cycladic Islands. The face is stern, with a hard drooping mouth and the eyes stare cold and angrily. Long curls dangle down from the ears; the symbolic markings, and the hands are clasped across the breast. The female characteristics are pronounced, and *on the lower part of the body the Svastika or the hooked cross* is depicted on a V-shaped projection surrounded by fishes..." [7] Mackenzie remarks eleswhere: "The arched eye-brow, the eyes and ears, yield purely to decorative tendencies, and become symbols, as do also the dots, rings and cones, representing female breasts: the Svastika on the lower part of the body is evidently a fertility symbol". [8]

Foote describes a specially interesting specimen found in Mysore (no. 252—62 in *Foote Collection of Indian Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Antiquities*—(Madras: 1916, on p. 73), namely, part of the side of large *chatty* with two ornaments, cruciform in shape with a large pap in each re-entering angle and a raised garland like a ring surrounding each cross. The arms of the crosses are slightly pointed. "What is the meaning" he asks, "of this very curious decoration? Can it be a

[7] D. A. Mackenzie,— *Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, p, 237; also pp. 141-142.

[8] Ibid, p. 235.

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modified 'Svastika'? It is the only approach that I found in all my specimens to that symbol, and it deserved to be figured for that reason and will be found in Plate 36. From further study of the specimen and from comparison with a figure given by Count d'. Alviella of the Trojan Swastika, I think there can be no doubt that my French Rock's specimen must be regarded as a typical Swastika". On p. 180 he notes the connection of the Pradakshina Function and the Svastika symbol thus:—"On p. 73 I described the only example of the Swastika symbol that occurs in my collection and pointed out that it was by studying Count d' Alviella's learned treatise on that very interesting and by many much venerated ancient symbol that I felt assured that my specimen bore strong resemblance to the Trojan type of Swastika. There is an obvious connection between the Swastika and the very ancient Indian service or function known as the Pradakshina, often performed by childless women desirous of getting family, who at certain temples walk in circle while praying for a blessing and accomplishment of their earnest wish."

Foote notices an obvious connection between the Swastika and the Pradakshina. Pradakshina is performed by childless women to procure children, and is, therefore, to be regarded, in some cases at least, as a fertility rite or charm. We have already seen that the Trojana Swastika marked on the lower part of the body of the mother-goddess figurine is a fertility symbol. The V-shaped projection emphasises the female principle. The fishes indicate the male. Fish is

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regarded as an auspicious symbol in marriage. When the Bengali bridegroom fetches the bride, they stand together on a wooden seat and *Varan* is made to them, and the bride holds in the left hand a fish (lāṭā). Crooke referring to a similar rite performed at a wedding in the North Western Provinces (now the United Provinces) regards it as an early Brāhmanic ritual[9]. This is a fertility rite. The Hindu God, Kāma, is called *Mīna-ketana, Makaraketana or Makaradhvaja*, i. e. the God of Love having the fish or dragon as his emblem.

In *Epigraphia Indica* Vol II p. 311 (Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura) we notice some marks against the Jina. "The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are—(1) at the top, a svastika, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark made by all Indian sects, (2) below two fish which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen and are found as such over the doors of the Great Jaina Caves at Junagaon called Bawa Pyara's math, and on Brahminical temples, e. g. on those of the ruined city Ghumtli; (3) on the left another variety of Tris'ula common on Buddhist monuments"...Now all these three symbols are auspicious, but they are associated with the male reproductive principle. In the Dictionary of Hindu Architecture by Dr. P. K. Acharyya we find on pp. 732, 733—Svastika, an auspicious mark, a symbol for Buddha and

[9] Dr. Crooke—*Religion and Folklore of Northern India (1926)*, p. 378.

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Siddha, the crossing of the arms, the meeting of the four roads, a type of village, a *kind of phallus* (Mānasāra LII, 4. 120). Thus we find that the Svastika represents the male principle. To us of the civilized age the use of the reproductive symbols as auspicious charms (really evil-scaring) may seem monstrous, but as a matter of fact nations of old (such as the Egyptians) used the symbol of the male reproductive principle as an evil scarer. When we use the horse shoe we do it without ever imagining that the symbol of the female principle brings us luck.

Consideration of space forbids the discussion how the fish is taken to symbolise the male principle, and how the serpent variously appears as the dragon, the salmon and generally the fish. The serpent is the index of life and fertility [10] and Rivett Carnac suggests that the snake is the symbol of the Phallus. Popular interpretation of a dream about snakes presages birth of child to the person who so dreams and curiously enough such dreams are in some cases followed by the birth of child. The association of the snake and the fish with procreation in popular belief is therefore established. Francis Buchanan noticed at Mer a Linga supported by a fish and surrounded by three nymphs. [11] It is not difficult to imagine why the fish and the dragon should form the emblem of the Hindu God of Love.

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[10] See Kalipada Mitra, "*Note on the cult of the Pillar-godling Laur Baba*," *JBORS* Vol. XI. p. 179.

[11] *Journal of Francis Buchanan*, Shahabad District, p. 345.

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How does the Svastika derive its fertility charm? On account of its association with the reproductive principle and with the Sun. The svastika in fact is a cross indicating the movement of the Sun. And the sun is the source of fertility. Crooke says "It is also commonly believed that women can be fertilised by the sun, and girls on attaining puberty are secluded from the sight of him. A childless woman desiring offspring bathes, stands naked before the sun, and implores him to remove her barrenness. A Rajput story tells how a girl became pregnant because she incautiously repeated the Gāyatrī hymn which she learned from her preceptor, and the same tale is told of an ancestress of Chinghiz Khan and Timur the Lame." [12]

Pradakshiṇa means going round an object of of reverence, (a stupa, shrine or person) keeping the right hand towards it. "This resembles the movement of the hands of the clock, 'through the button hole' as we pass the decanters round our dining tables. In this direction the oxen move as they tread out the grain, the bride and the bridegroom round the sacred fire or the central pole of the marriage shed. But when the chief mourner circumambulates the funeral pyre he does so in the reverse direction...This lucky form of circumambulation is made by a pilgrim...The auspicious movement is reproduced in the orthodox type of the *Swastika*, "auspicious" symbol; the reverse, the Sauvastika, being typical of the moon, night

[12] Crooke—op. cit. pp. 34, 35.

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or destruction, embodied in the cult of Kālī." "Philosophically," says Havell, "the sign represents the principle of evolution, the reverse sign associated with black magic representing involution was adopted by certain schools of Hindu philosophy." The Bon or Bonpo cult in Tibet is lunar and attended with blood sacrifice and accordingly it uses the unorthodox form, as do the Red Lamas in moving their prayer wheels" [13] On this last item the remarks of Dr. L. Waddell are noteworthy. "As showing the ignorance of the Lamas, even so near to Lhasa, I should mention that on entering another monastery near here, on the roadside higher up the main valley, I noticed that they figured the lucky fly-footed cross, the *Swastika*, in the reverse way, that is, with the feet going not in the diurnal course of the sun or the hands of clock, but in the opposite direction which the merest tyro should know, is not only wrong, but is the form of this symbol used by the non-Buddhists, the indigenous Black-Caps, the Bon, and the use of which is regarded by the Lamas as wicked." [14]

The Hindus use this form on a variety of ceremonial occasions. Take for example the drawing of the Vaṭa Sāvitrī. [15] It figures on the fly-leaf of the trader's ledger. It is printed on the house wall as a magic charm to repel the Evil Eye, and even drawn on the shaven heads of children on the marriage day in Gujrat.

[13] Crooke—op. cit. pp. 33, 34; see also I. A. XXX, p. 132, XXX p, 400.

[14] *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, p. 323.

[15] B. A. Gupte—*Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, pp. 242-44

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The Jains also use this symbol. Mr. S. C. Ghosal on p. LXIV. of his *Dravya samgraha* gives the Āgneyi Dhāranā of the Jains:

bahnivījasamākrāntam paryante svastikāṅgitam.
ūrdhvakāyapurodbhūtam nirdhūmam Kāñcana-prabham.

(Jñānarṇava, 36–10–19)

The emblem of the seventh Tīrthaṅkara Supārs'vanātha was the svastika symbol.

It is worth while to refer to the "Jain version of this symbol as given by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji (the Hathigumpha Inscriptions, Udayagiri Caves, p. 7) who was told by a learned Yati that the Jains believe that according to man's karma, he is subject to one of the four following conditions in the next life—he either becomes god or deva or goes to hell (naraka), or is born again as a man, or is born as a lower animal. But a Siddha in his next life attains to nirvana and is therefore beyond the pale of these four conditions. The svastika represents such a siddha in the following way. The point or bindu in the centre from which the four paths branch out is *Jīva* or life, and the four paths symbolise the four conditions of life. But as the Siddha is free from all of them, the end of each line is turned to show that the four states are closed for him."... ..The Buddhist doctrines mostly resemble these of the Jains, it is just possible that the former might have held the *Svastika* in the same light as the latter. In the *Nasik* inscription No. 10 of Ushavadata, the symbol is placed immediately after the word

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siddham, a juxtaposition which corroborates the above Jain interpretation. We find the *svastika* either at the beginning or end or at both ends of an inscription and it might mean *svasti* or siddham (*I. A.* Vol. XXIII. p. 196).

We have already seen that this symbol was used in India from very ancient times. Says Ratzel in his *History of Mankind*, [16]

"What breed the old Indians brought with them is unknown; we only know that they loved their herds, for in the Vedas the gods are constantly brought to protect, bless and increase the herds. They marked the cattle by incisions in the ear and the mark called in Sanskrit Svastika seems to have arisen with this object. M. Burnouf takes the symbol to designate the invention of fire-drill."

The description of *Sukhāvatī*, the land of Bliss in the Buddhist Mahāyāna Text [17] carries with it many pre-Buddhist beliefs about metals, and precious stones and so on and nets of gold adorned with the emblems of the dolphin, the svastika, the nandyāvarta and the moon.

Enough has been said to show that from ancient times down to the present the Svastika symbol has been regarded as auspicious amongst various peoples of the world including the people of India. The examination of the punch—marked coins in the Pandukuris revealed such mark; it is also found in ancient pre-historic pottery and it and its variants occur elsewhere in the world.

[16] Vol. III p. 380.

[17] *Sacred Books of the East*, XLIX, pp. 16. 17.

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The symbol found in Tibet, China and Japan may be put down to migration from India, probably in historic times or it might have migrated from elsewhere. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University says that in the Chinese alphabet there is a letter formed like the Svastika; in that case its age in China is coeval with the origin of the Chinese alphabet). But what of its existence and discovery on pre-historic artifacts in Scandinavia, Britain, Central Europe, Crete, Asia Minor (Hissarlik), Peru, Mexico and other countries? The variant of the symbol was found on the megalithic pottery exhumed by Mr. Yazdani. Probably therefore it forms part of the megalithic culture. Professor Elliot Smith in "*the Migration of Early Culture*" (p. 132 ff.) has said that between 4000 B. C. and 900 B. C. a highly complex culture compounded of a remarkable series of peculiar elements which were associated the one with the other in Egypt largely by chance became intimately interwoven to form the curious texture of a cult which Brockwell has labelled '*heliolithic*' in reference to the fact that it includes sunworship, the custom of building megalithic monument and certain extraordinary beliefs concerning stones..... By 900 B. C. practically the whole of the complex structure of the heliolithic culture had become built up and definitely conventionalised in Egypt. He then describes how the heliolithic culture migrated. "The great migration of the heliothic culture complex began shortly before 800 B. C. Passing to the east the culture complex reached the Persian Gulf strongly tainted with the influence

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of North Syria and Asia Minor, and when it reached the west coast of India and Ceylon, possibly as early as the end of the 8th century B. C., it had been profoundly influenced not only by the Mediterranean, Anatolian and especially Babylonian accretions, but even more profoundly with Eastern African modifications...these Ethiopian influences became now pronounced in Indonesia.... From Indonesia the heliolithic culture complex was carried far out in the Pacific and eventually reached the American coast, where it bore fruit in the development of the great civilizations of the Pacific littoral and isthmus, whence it gradually leavened the bulk of the vast aboriginal population of the Americans."

Now Professor Eliott Smith regards the Svastika symbol to have been associated with the heliolithic cult. "The peculiar *Svastika* symbol associated with the heliolithic cult by pure chance in the place of its origin, which the people of Timor in Indonesia regard as the ancient symbol of fire, the son of the Sun, also appears in America". According to him, therefore, the *Svastika* symbol being associated with the heliolithic culture complex travelled with it and appeared in so may countries. But if the date of the punch-marked coins discovered in the Pandukri be not later than 1500 B. C. according to Dr. Bhandarkar the arrival of the heliolithic culture in India to stamp the svastika symbol on the punch-marked coins is late by seven centuries. The Svastika symbol appears on southern and western portion of Europe as early as the Bronze

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Age. What was its date in Europe? And it may be that the Professor's explanation comprehensive of the whole world's civilization has, perhaps, not been accepted by scholars in general. Under his inspiration Dr. Gilbert Slater's explanation of the origin of Brāhman priests and other things attempted in his *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture* has excited both mirth and criticism. I am, however, unable to suggest just now any plausible theory to explain this diffusion.

Thd Svastika is in fact a modified cross; and the cross admits of numerous modifications. The simple cross is that of equal arms, (the sign of *plus*). Among the Gauls it was a solar symbol. "The so called cross of Constantine or Labarum...was merely an adaptation of a symbol of Gaulish Solar Deity (see Guidoz, *Le Die Gaulolis du Soleil*), which consisted of a wheel of six spokes or sometimes four (*Chamber's Encylopaedia*). The equal limbed cross is also the Cretan cross. If the upper limb is turned down into a handle or a ring or a loop, it becomes the *Crux ansata* found on Egyptian monuments. The cross with bent arms in the direction of the sun is the svastika. The cross if given returned arms will be the fylfot. In the plate facing p. 248 of A. D. Mackenzie's *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe* many svastika figures, discovered on Cretan artifacts, seals, faience and stones, have been given. Points of bent arms may be joined by curves by single or double loops. Crux decussata is St. Andrew's cross, the sign of multiplication. Combined with the equal limbed cross it will form a star. If at the end of each limb of a cross

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a loop is placed we will get the Ujjain symbol. If the svastika appears in curves we get the double snake symbol. And various modifications do we get such as the svastika with three dots on it with *candravindu* on the top, or a trident, the middle line crossing the upper bracket arm ending in the inverted letter Y, or a sign much resembling the Svastika drawn on the flypage of the shopkeepers on the Dīvalī Day and in Bengal on the first Day of Vais'ākha.

The Svastika Symbol was found in inscriptions together with the word *Siddham* both at the beginning and end. The word *Siddham* was auspicious and marked the beginning of all auspicious proceedings. The first letter learning is an auspicious ceremony. In the *Divyāvadāna* we read that a dull boy could not pronounce *Siddham* which he had to do when beginning the letters. The Āchāryya devised the trick of making him repeat *dhamsi* so that in the process he might unwarily say *Siddham*. The new learner in a Hindi *pāthsātā* has to begin with ओनामासि ढं, which is really *om namo Siddham*.

We have already seen that *Siddham* and Svastika Symbol are associated. The Hindu god Gaṇes'a is called *Siddhidātā*, giver of success. *Siddhi* and *Siddham* became connected; and the modified elaborate Svastika form drawn in vermilion on the flypage of the shopkeeper represented Ganes'a. The simplified Svastika with its one arm forming a loop like the Bengali figure (7) with the sign of (square root) before it is called *Ganes'a āṅkuṛi* in

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Bengal and is generally written before S'rī S'rī Durgā.

When the hooked arms of the Svastika are curved we get the double-snake symbol, the arms crossing each other. If these snakes are separated and placed side by side facing each other, or in the same direction, we get the crude form of *Lakhmīrpā* (लक्ष्मीर पा), or the *pada chihṇa* (foot mark) of goddess *Lakshmī*, on to the top of which five dots or strokes have to be added to complete the resemblance of a foot. In the Anantagumphā cave near Bhuvaneshwar I have seen carved on the rock symbol of two such snakes facing a pedestal (which may be phallic in significance) between them, looking exactly like *Lakshmīr pā* with out the fingers on the top. *Triratna* and Svastika symbols are also found there. I have already said that all these are phallic or fertility symbols and auspicious. In Bengali the saying is "धने पुत्रे लक्ष्मी लाभ होक"; the association of the Svastika symbol in the shape of *Lakshmīr pā* is quite obvious. Throughout Bengal on all auspicious occasions this figure is drawn in *alipanā* paint on the floor and yard of our houses.

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IV. THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FISH IN BENGAL.

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(Continued from Vol. XI, Nos. 3 & 4.)

"Vizagapatam District and the place round about was formerly known as 'Matsya Desa'. The chiefs who ruled over this 'fish country' were the Matsyas the founder of which clan is said to have descended from a fish. The Madagole Zamindars of Vizagapatam claim to be the lineal descendants of the Matsyas. Their throne is fish-shaped. Their signature is a symbol representing a fish, they display a fish on their banner and even their dependents wear fish-shaped ear-rings." The Madagole Zamindars have huge Mahseers in their Matsyagundam. "The Tirumalapad (or Raja) of Nilambur in Malabar has in the pool below his house sacred fish which have reached huge dimensions." "The Pandyans of the South had as the device of their House a fish" (A Sketch of the Dynasties of South India—Sewell, 1883, p. 74). They are often addressed as 'Minovar Kon' i. e. king of the fishermen. [13] From these evidences it appears that fish is associated with such peoples and places of extreme South India and the south-west coast where we find definite traces of brachycephaly. Writing about the extent of distribu-

[13] S. T. Moses—*Fish and Religion in South India, J. M. S.* of Bangalore, Vol. XIII, P. 549 *etc.*

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tion of these brachycephals in the extreme south and south-west of India Mr. Giuffrida-Ruggeri concludes that "even as far as the remote district of South Canara, in the coastal regions to the east of Mysore, we find the cephalic index (50 Billavas) to be 80. 1. Evidently *the introduction of the brachycephals must go back to a prehistoric epoch*". (Giuffrida-Ruggeri— *The First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia*—translated by H. C. Chakladar, P. 46.). Mr. Haddon also traces a distinct brachycephalic strain which he calls as the Southern Brachycephals, in the extreme south of India and along the western coast. "Usually classed with Dravidians are the Shanan or Shanar palmyra toddy-drawers of the Tinnevelly district, C. I. 80. 7 N. I. 74. 4, who, like the Tiyan and Izhuvan, are said to have come from Ceylon; they have coarse, black, straight hair, a wide face and heavy features. The Pariyan occur in the Tamil districts from North Arcot to Tinnevelly and were once an important people; those at Tuticorin have C. I. 80 and N. I. 77. 9. The Parava, fishermen of the Tinnevelly coast, have C. I. 70. 8-92. 5, av. 79. 4, N. I. 61. 4-95. 1, av. 77. 7; according to their traditions they were immigrants. It is a question whether this brachycephalic element is the same as that which will now be considered, or whether it belongs to another stock., provisionally they may be termed as the Southern Brachycephals". (A. C. Haddon— The Races of Man, 1924, p. 110).

From Coorg, along the western coast, up to Guzerat we find definite brachycephalic predomin.

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ance which becomes more and more prominent as we proceed from the south to the north. Sir H. H. Risley's attempt to explain this character with a Scythic extension has now been completely given up in favour of the Alpines.[14] In this area also we find several instances of the ritualistic use of fish. Moreover this area is also characterised by fish-eating among the higher castes without loss of prestige as in Bengal. In the district of Poona the priests prevent the people from fishing in some sacred *dohs* or pools. "The chief sacred pools or dohs where fish are never killed" number about twenty-seven.[15] In the district of Thana the saw-fish is often offered before Hindu deities and at the shrines of Mussalman saints.; a large one may be seen in the Mahim State".[16] Again "in the Poona District there is said to be a fish, round like a wheel, which once bit a piece out of the calf of Sita while she was bathing, and now if yon examine its palate you will find a lump of butter; another fish cures impotency; the patient strips off his clothes, grinds some black gram, baits a hook with it, and when he has caught the fish he rubs vermilion on its head and says: 'O fish I am changing my state for yours by taking the slime from your skin. Accept my offering!' He then

[14] A. C. Haddon—*The Races of Man*, p. 110.
Giuffrida-Ruggeri—*The First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia*, pp. 44-50.
Dixon—*The Racial History of Man*, p. 263.

[15] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 88., and foot-note, 1.

[16] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 56, note, 2.

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removes the slime and when it is dry eats it in the form of pills which restore his strength. On the Bombay coast sun-fish is offered at Hindu temples, and in Buddhist times fishes were symbols of good luck, little fishes carved in beryl being found in Stupas". [17]

The ritualistic use of fish is also met with in some parts of Beluchistan, a brachycephalic area. "On my way to the fort of Aziz Khan, Hazara manager of the District for Dost Muhammad, I passed a small pond, filled by a stream from a holy spring which was so full of trout as to baffle description or credibility. They were held sacred and were exceedingly tame. On the 21st March to a day, according to a report of the people, the fish desert the pond for the rivulet that waters the valley. It is then lawful to catch them". [18] Along the foothills of the Himalayas as also in Nepal the trait appears in several places. As for example "at Tunganath by the lower Himalaya in the Saraswati pool there is a linga in the centre, and a large fish appears on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of every month, oblations to it ensuring that every wish will be accomplished". [19] According to Crooke fishes are often conceived to be the home of the spirits of the dead. "At Mandi [20] in the Punjab in the river

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[17] Crooke—*Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 378.

[18] Moorcroft—*Travels*, Vol. II, p. 382 *quoted in North Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. II, p. 93.

[19] Crooke—*Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 378.

[20] Mandi is a Hill State on the north-eastern border of the Punjab, within the hills.

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Beas, 'while standing on iron Victoria Jubilee Bridge you can gaze into the deep green pool below and see the great Mahseer swimming lazily along which bears the soul of the Raja's late lamented grandfather in his capacious bosom'. Hence it is the custom to fling to fish in the name of the ancestors little balls of flour with the name of Rama inscribed on Bhoja-patra birch-tree bark, or red paper, each ball being perfumed with eight kinds of scents." [21]

In Assam also the trait-complex appears among several tribes where brachycephaly predominates. The Ao Nagas of Assam are divided into two sections the Chonglis and the Mongsens. For the first and the third 'feast of merit' the Mongsen performer catches a good supply of fish during the preceding rains by poisoning a strem with the help of his friends and relatives and keeps them dried (J. P. Mills—*The Ao Nagas*, p. 384 & 393). The 'feasts of merit' form an important part of the Naga social life. In the first 'feast of merit' a Chongli couple offer two leaf parcels of fish by pouring them over the sacrificial bull with a prayer for prosperity, along with other kinds of food and drink. In the first and third 'feasts of merit' among the Mongsen the women who work as pounders of ceremonial rice, are rewarded with half a dried fish each, among other things. Similarly in the mithan sacrifice, on the fourth day of the rite, the performer with his wife offers fish and other articles of food and drink, as before, by pouring

[21] Crooke—*Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 377-378.

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over the head of the mithan.[22] In the Mongsen mithan sacrifice the performer ceremonially breaks his fast on the morning of the fourth day with a little piece of dried fish and a grain of raw husked rice in the forest.[23] Among the Chonglis when a young man wants to marry a girl, he sounds the opinion of her parents and makes a formal proposal by offering a number of fish caught by himself, to the father of the girl. If these are accepted marriage is agreed upon. The Mongsen groom also makes a large present of fish, caught by poisoning a stream with the help of his friends but only after the engagement has been formally accepted by the parents of the bride. The bride's father also, in his turn, sends a part of this present to his relations.[24] Dr. Hutton informs that the "presentation of fish by a man to his betrothed is the formal sign of the completion of an Ao marriage."[25] Mrs. Milne describes fish as a part of the bridegroom's gift to the parents of the bride among the Palaungs of Burma. In case of childlessness and wasting diseases among the Aos offerings of dried fish etc. are made to the *tiya* (fate) of the patient for recovery.[26] Fishing in some pools or streams is sometimes resorted to by the Aos for bringing down rain during draught.[27] Among the Lhotas,

22 J. P. Milis—*The Ao Nagas*, 374 & 380.
23 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 391.
24 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 270-273.
25 J. P. Mills—*The Lhota Nagas*, p. 168, Note, 2, by Dr. Hutton.
26 J. P. Mills—*The Ao Nagas*, p. 237.
27 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 131.

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another Naga tribe living in the Naga Hills, fis is used for various ceremonial and magical pu poses. Thus the root of a plant is ground an mixed with cooked fish and then given to a 'sh loved one.' "If the suit is hopeless the recipien of the charm shows symptoms of sickness on th spot.[28] Like the Aos the Lhotas also use fi in the rain-compelling ceremony when "a sma dead *tserii* fish, with its mouth kept open by piece of stick" is pegged down to the bottom the nearest stream along with a gibbon's hea When sufficient rain has fallen the gibbon's hea is removed but the fish remains to rot und water.[29] Within a month after birth the Lho child is given the flesh of a bulbul or in i absence a small fish called *ngolelop* or a speci of cuckoo known as *liyosangsü* so that the chi may begin to speak early.[30] At the time fishing by poisoning a stream the Lhotas absolut ly prohibit the presence of any woman.[31] B fore building weirs across a stream the build must not speak to a stranger and must refra from sexual intercourse for the three days precedin This shows the sacred nature of the business the two taboos mentioned above are also observ in connection with other sacred rites and ce monies.[32] Among the Memi group of the Angam Nagas the Mohvus, stone-pullers and others wi

28 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 168.
29 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 130.
30 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 147.
31 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 71.
32 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 73.

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high social status refrain from eating a small fish called *kureu* (*peru* in Manipur) in addition to fowls, eggs, flesh of wild animals and beans.[32] Among the Angamis success in harvest is connected with the village-fishing by poisoning a stream.[34] The Sema Nagas of the Naga Hills avoid two kinds of fish. Of these one is *akhaki* avoided by the younger men "because of a story which ascribes its origin to a part of the anatomy of a man which he accidentally knocked off with a stone after a successful love affair." The other type is *azho* which is tabooed as it is believed that one taking it will suffer great pain at the time of death. The belief most probably originated from the fact that when cut off the sections of this fish display muscular movements for sometime. When girls are married to a distant place they are given to eat this fish unknown so that in case of a suspicious death the relatives may find time to reach the place before expiry.[35] Sema folklore refers to a friendship between a fish and a Sambhar for their mutual benefit against their common enemy—man.[36] Certain deep pools which never dry up are traditionally associated with rains and the Semas believe that fishing in them will cause heavy downpour.[37] In Manipur fishing is prohibited, among the Nagas, during the cultivating season i. e. from sowing till harvest-

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[33] J. H. Hutton—*The Angami Nagas*, p. 339.
[34] Ditto — *Ditto* p. 159.
[35] J. H. Hutton—*The Sema Nagas*, p. 94.
[36] Ditto — *Ditto* p. 305.
[37] Ditto — *Ditto* p. 214.

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home.[38] Among the Lhotas some small fish and rice together with *pita madhu* are kept ready for the *potsos* (deities) in the *ratsen's* (priest's) house on the occasion of their visit (J. P. Mills *The Lhota Nagas* p. 114).

The Kacharis who belong to the Bada group is distributed almost throughout Assam and their congeners are also found in North-east Bengal, Koch Behar and Hill Tippera. One of their folktales delineate how Sri the god of fortume released the fishes from a tank and created rivers in return for which the fishes gave him two gourds and how he presented those gourds (which were filled up with silver and gold respectively) to one of his friends who regaled him with rice-beer and pig's flesh and how as a result of such neglect he (Sri) found his little daughter seriously ill. "But the fishes took pity on him, and came to him in the guise of physicians, and told him that if he would worship and do sacrifice on the banks of rivers, then his daughter would be healed., which he did."[39] Though the Kacharis worship rivers yet it is difficult to draw the conclusion from the story. To be logical Sri should worship the fishes, who were evidently offended, and not the rivers which were his own creation; and the river banks are the proper places for worshipping fishes. And possibly this feature later on helped to transform what was fish-worship into river-worship.

Both Prof. Dixon and Prof. Haddon trace a brachycephalic, leptorrhine element in the popula-

[38] T. C. Hodson—*The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 58.

[39] S. E. Endle —*The Kacharis*, p. 55sq.

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tion of Assam. The former identifies it with the Alpine group while the latter calls it as belonging to the Eurasiatic stock. [40] The Aos, among whom we met with the trait-complex in question in a more pronounced form, are spoken of as composed of "a substratum of Negroid with Austro-Asiatic and Alpine elements superimposed". [41]

So long we have seen that the trait occurs only in the peripheral zone but there are a few instances of its occurrence in the interior regions also. Thus among the Lohars of the United Provinces, during the marriage ceremony, the bride holds a fish made of flour in her hand and continually moves it so that the bridegroom, who is attempting to shoot it, may not be easily successful. Mr. Crooke explains it as an obvious form of fertility magic. But its connection with magic seems to be rather far fetched. On the other hand it may be connected with the famous archery competition held during the marriage of Draupadi when the father of the princess promised to give away his daughter to any one who will successfully shoot the eye of a metallic fish, suspended high above, through a continually revolving disc, looking downwards on a vessel of water where the eye of the fish was seen reflected. If the latter interpretation be accepted then the Lohar custom loses its antiquity.

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[40] A. C. Haddon—*The Races of Man*, p. 116.
R. B. Dixon—*The Racial History of Man*, p. 261.

[41] J. H. Hutton—in the introduction to *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, by W. C. Smith, p. XIV.

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In the Central Provinces several instances of the trait are met with among lower castes and tribes and most probably the Pre-Dravidian element, which is found throughout its lower groups in a dominant position, is responsible for its introduction. "Ahirs in the same Province (C. P.) [42] on the third day after a death catch a fish and take it home., the son of the deceased or some near relation picks up a stone, washes it in the water in which the fish was brought home and then transfers the spirit to the stone which is enshrined in the house as one of the family deities; Kamars catch and bring home any living thing they can find after the funeral—a fish, a frog, a prawn, and so forth. Dhakars, at a funeral, put a fish, the abode of the spirit, into a cup which the mourners touch and thus free it from the death impurity, and Kharias catch a fish on the third day after a death, which all the relations eat, the intention being that the spirit may not haunt them, or it has been interpreted as a survival of eating the dead, which may have been the original custom." [43] In these cases fish occurs in connection with the funeral and we have already seen that the Pre-Dravidians of other parts of India also connect it with the death rites or with the spirits. It is possible that the occurrence of fish in the funeral rites as found among the higher castes of India was adopted from the Pre-Dravidians.

Another set of evidences in connection with

[42] The bracketed portion is ours.

[43] Crook—*Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 228—229.

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fish also show a peripheral distribution. Between the 8th and the 12th centuries after Christ a new type of Buddhism flourished in the three adjacent territories of Bengal, Nepal and Tibet. The centre of this cultural movement was most probably in North Bengal (Barendra) and East Behar whence a series of learned teachers of the new faith visited the courts of Nepal. Tibet was also inspired directly and indirectly from this region. This later Buddhism, as it is called, possesses eight auspicious symbols of which a pair of fish forms one. They are, in Nepal (1) Padma (lotus) (2) S'aṅkha (conchshell), (3) S'rībatsa (Swastik mark), (4) Chatra (umbrella), (5) Mukuṭ (crown), (6) Kumbha (waterpot), (7) Matsya (a pair of fish), (8) Cāmar (yak's tail). In Tibet also we meet with these eight symbols with two exceptions viz. in place of Mukuṭ (crown) and Cāmar (yak's tail) they have the Dharmacakra (Wheel of Law), and Dhvaja (banner). But the pair of fish is included here too. In Bengal also we have already found cases where fish is regarded as an auspicious object. The symbols mentioned above appear on bronze bowls, bells, and gongs used as currency by the Abors and Galongs of the hills to the north of the Brahmaputra valley. But these are imported among them from Eastern Tibet and the Buddhist symbols have no meaning for them.[44] Double fishes also occur in Orissa as a motif for mural decoration in Uriya huts and is held by the people as a lucky sign. Dr. Annandale in describing

[44] G. D. S. Dunbar—*The Abors and Galongs*, p. 35. *(Memoir, A. S. B. Vol. V Extra Number)*

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these decorative motifs says that "with the lotus plant, the sides are occupied with vertical series of double fishes, a very common symbol in India and other eastern countries, used by Buddhists and even Mahommedans as well as Hindus." [45] Even in Calcutta I found an actual Rohit fish, set in the front wall on the top of the entrance of on Uriya house, together with other motifs painted with rice-paste. In China the two principles of creation—male and female—*(yin* and *yang)* are represented by the symbol of two fishes. Double fishes also occur as a lucky sign on ancient pottery and other objects from China. Carp fish is held as a good omen for success in examinations even to this day. [46] The kings of Madura (Pandyas 1st to 7th century A. D.) adopted a fish or a pair of them as their family crest. [47] Already we have referred to the occurrence of beryls carved with the lucky symbol of fishes and found in the stupas on the Bombay coast. They were in use during Buddhist time. Hārīti is an important Buddhist deity of later times. In the Mahāvastu she is spoken of as a Yaksinī who, along with her 500 sons, took to eating the children of the citizens of Vesali. The later Buddhist texts, mostly found in Chinese translation, refer to her cannibalistic tendency and her final defeat by the Lord Buddha who changed her into the protectress of children. Thus we always find a child in the lap of the image of Hārīti.

[45] *Memoris, A. S. B., Vol. VIII,* No. 4, p. 246.
[46] *Decorative Patterns of Vows among the Chinese,* Plate No. XI.
[47] Loventhal—*The Coins of Tinnevelly,* 1888, p. 9.

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Several images of this deity are reported from different parts of Bengal one of which comes from Paikpara, a village in the district of Dacca (Bengal). Ordinarily Hārīti is endowed with two hands but the image referred to above, has four "The upper right hand holds a fish and the upper left hand has a drinking bowl. With the two normal hands she holds a baby in her lap". Mr. N. K. Bhattasali [48] supposes it to be a Mahayana redaction. The fish in the hand of this image seems to have some connection with fertility.

Another fact brings us to the end of this series of evidences. The name of Matsyendranath is well known to the students of Indian religious movements as the originator of a mystic cult and doctrine. From a religious preacher he has become a deified being with devotees in Bengal, Nepal, Tibet, Kashmir and probably also on the Bombay coast. Tradition in Bengal ascribes the birth of this religious teacher from the womb of a fish. Luipada, one of the 84 siddhas of Tibet and Nepal, is generally supposed to be the same as Matsyendranath. Luipa is the author of several Buddhist songs in old Bengali. [49] The name, Lui, is supposed to be the same word as, Rui i. e. Rohit, a kind of fish. This great religious leader has be-

[48] N. K. Bhattasali—*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum* p. 63.

[49] *Vide Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, edited by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, p. 45. piece 29.

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come connected with the Natha doctrine and later on with the Nathas or Yogis—a Hindu weaving caste of Bengal.

The grosser aspect of Tantric ritualism requires five essential ingredients for its pursuance. They are the *Pañca makāras* i. e. the five objects beginning with *ma* viz. Matsya (fish), Māmsa (meat), Madya (liquor) Maithun (copulation i. e. woman), and Mudra (appetisers like parched grains and pulses etc.).[50] The Taṇtrasāra (p. 953) has divided fish into three classes—*uttam*, *madhyam* and *adham*. The first class includes *Sal*, *Pāṭhīn* and *Rohit*, the second class includes all fishes of big size devoid of bones fatty and scaly. While the last class has within it all other small fishes. The first two classes are said to be pleasing to the Goddess (Devi). *Pañca makāra sādhana* is practised by the followers of Kulācāra school of Taṇtra who are mostly found in Eastern India, Nepal and Tibet. The author of Kaulamārgarahasya claims an wide distribution of the cult and includes Maharastra, Guzerat, and Deccan in the list. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda refers to a couplet describing the traditional place of origin and distribution of Saktism of which Kulācāra is an important sect. It runs thus—

Gauḍe prakās'itā vidyā Maithilaih prabalīkṛtā
Kvacit kvacin Mahārāṣṭre Gurjjare pralayam gatā

"The cult (vidyā) was revealed in Gauḍa (Bengal) popularised (prabalīkṛtā, lit. 'strengthened') by the Maithilas, it here and there prevails in Mahārāṣ-

[50] *Kaulamārgarahasya*—by Late Satish Chandra Siddhantabhus-

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ṭra, and has disappeared in Gujarat".[51] Rai Bahadur Chanda seems to have made out a strong case about the origin and distribution of Saktism among his Indo-Aryans of the outer-belt on independent grounds.[52] Thus, fish appearing as an important ritual article among the followers of *Pañca-makāra-sādhana* is distributed as such in the peripheral regions characterised by brachycephaly.

Conclusion.

From the evidence collected above it appears that the occurrence of fish in its different aspects in Bengal is not an isolated fact. It is connected with other parts of India and any question as regards its origin and introduction into the Hindu society should be explained in consonance with the problems of those parts of India where the trait-complex in question prevails. Certainly it was introduced by one or other of the four racial elements which go to compose the Indian people. We have already seen that the dolichocephalic Aryans who developed the Midlandic culture were not responsible for the introduction of fish in the higher Hindu community. Their culture was antagonistic to this trait. The Dravidian contribution to our culture and race still remains uncertain. The two remaining peoples viz. the Pre-Dravidians and the brachycephalic Alpines are found associated with fish in different degrees at

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51 R. P. Chanda—*The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 153.

52 Ditto — *Ditto* p. 156.

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different places of India. Certain elements of the trait-complex such as (a) fish as an edible object, (b) fish as totems, (c) fish as temporary or permanent seats for departed souls, which primarily obtain among the Pre-Dravidians, as already shown, might have been adopted, where possible, from them, while the remaining elements were most probably originated or developed by the brachycephals themselves. We have already seen that the Pre-Dravidians form the substratum of the population throughout the greater part or even the whole of India. The dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic Aryans together with the Dravidians found the country in possession of these dark-skinned, broad-nosed, short-statured and long-headed people, who were absorbed by them in different proportions in different centres. The society which grew up as a result of this racial miscegenation also reflected the racial and cultural contact in their social institutions. When the brachycephals came to live among the Pre-Dravidians in the aforementioned areas and probably mixed their blood with the autochthones they adopted the purely Pre-Dravidian elements of the fish-complex and then developed them according to their own culture pattern. Thus, fish which formed an important article of diet among the Pre-Dravidians were adopted by the brachycephalic immigrants. So it is that we find fish-eating among the higher castes of the broad-headed belt of India. Similarly, as totemism did never form a trait of the brachycephalic culture-pattern, fish

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in this role never occurs, even once, among them, but is limited to the purely Pre-Dravidian groups or those lower castes which have been recruited from them. Another element of the complex viz. the connection of fish with departed souls, is mainly found among the Pre-Dravidian tribes whence it seems to have been introduced among the higher castes of certain parts of India as already shown.

We have indicated beforehand that fish occūrs as an object of social and religious rites among higher castes in such peripheral parts of India as Assam, Bengal, Orissa (up to the Vizagapatam district, along the coast), extreme South India, the south-west coast, Maharastra, Guzarat and the Lower Himalayas. This seems to be a very suggestive fact as throughout all these tracts we find a common racial element which has been provisionally identified with the Alpines.—a brachycephalic people who were nearly related to the dolichocephalic Aryans, the originators of the Midlandic culture, though not actually belonging to the same group. Most probably the Midlandic culture did not affect them till a late period of their history in India when they had already been sufficiently influenced by the autochthonous peoples of the tract. Under the circumstances it seems plausible that these brachycephals adopted fish as an article of food at the first instance, from the Pre-Dravidians and gradually raised it to the plane of ritualistic use. The magical properties of fish might have formed the link between the two groups as we

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find fish in this role both among the Pre-Dravidians and among the brachycephals (Alpines). The introduction of fish in the social ceremonies among the higher castes alone to the exclusion of the Pre-Dravidian tribes, might have been caused by these brachycephals who thus developed the trait on its normal course In course of time the trait-complex was further developed among the same people and fish was introduced as offerings to deities and gradually became sacred objects by themselves. The sacred character of fish might have been a logical development of the original Pre-Dravidian idea about their being temporary or permanent seats of departed souls.

How and why the dolichocephalic originators of the Midlandic culture developed an antagonistic feeling about fish even as an edible object remain a mystery still. From the Rig Vedic time up to the Grihya Sūtra period we do meet with several references to fishing and fishermen but it is never mentioned as an article of food. But as soon as we reach the Dharmasutra period we find elaborate rules about fish-eating. Almost all the writers on Dharmasutras and Smritis first prohibit fish-eating in general terms and then introduce certain exceptions to this rule and thereby allow consumption of certain kinds of fish. The way in which these rules are introduced prompts us to believe that they were compelled to make certian concessions to the popular tastes, even against their traditional norms. Was it due to their contact with powerful peoples and cultures

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which they met in course of their cultural conquests outside their original seat in the Midland area? It is a striking coincidence that most of the Dharmasūtras which for the first time allow fish-eating were composed or collated in centres outside the original Midlandic zone [53] where the lawgivers had to accommodate to the local customs and practices.

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[53] Apastamba Dharmasutra probably originated in the Andhra cauntry; Visnu Smriti was perhaps written in Kashmir.

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V. BIRTH CUSTOMS AMONGST THE THARUS.

By

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The Tarāi which extends across the whole length of the Himalayas bordering the densely populated plains in the south has long been the ethnical frontier between the civilization of the plains and that of the mountains. A low-land of morasses and fens, subject to the depredations of wild beasts and the scourge of the jungle fever, it has been the refuge of many tribes and castes which, having fallen on evil days in the plains, have migrated thither and found a safe asylum. Of such tribes who still inhabit the Tarai, the Thāṛūs are the most interesting for ethnologists as they appear to retain many of the customs and beliefs which we may well suppose characterised mankind in very ancient times. They have their head-quarters in the Himalayan Tarāi and the colonies in the Gorakhpur division and Northern Oudh. To the east they are found as far as the river Kusi and to the west they extend as far as the Sarda, which form the border-line between Kumaon and Nepal.

(a) During Pregnancy.

The average Thāṛū shows a profound ignorance about the phenomena of pregnancy and birth. In fact it seems that he almost pins his faith to the formula that, "It is folly to be wise, where

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ignorance is bliss". He can neither account for the periodicity of menstruation nor does he care to know about the causation and conception of life because, according to his idea, these are problems which defy all human comprehension—an instance of gross ignorance of sexual science, which is well illustrated in the words of a Tharu who in answer to a query regarding the problems in question, replied, "Rām ki līlā, Ramai jānē" i. e. 'it is only God who can know his plans'. Unlike the plainsmen, the Tharus pander to no whims of a woman nor taboo her as impure during menstruation; on the contrary, she is allowed to discharge her domestic duties as usual, the presumption being that menstruation is nothing more than an event in the ordinary course of nature. But it is really strange that the cessation of menstruation should be taken to indicate an alarming situation which must be carefully handled, viz., pregnancy. The phenomena they know and actually see: the causes they do not know, nor care to enquire into. Though now with the diffusion of general education and of ideas imported from neighbouring civilised communities, the Tharus have begun to account for birth on the principle of impregnation. Yet the idea still prevails that however healthy and strong the parents may be, they can never beget a child otherwise than as a "Rām-den" i. e. 'gift of God' or 'God-sent'. The fact that a Tharu woman has proved barren or given birth to a dead or deformed child, at once raises a violent

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presumption that the misfortune is due to the angry gods or to the evil spirits. This idea regarding the intermedling of gods and spirits in matters of pregnancy and birth, which has almost become a creed with them finds its fullest expression in a variety of measures which are resorted to, to establish good relations with the 'generous gods' and the 'grudging spirits',—the idea being that whereas the former bestow prosperity, the latter grudge it. But the question arises who will determine the offended god or the evil spirit? The answer is that it is only the 'Bharara', the village magician, priest or the medicine-man, who alone, as in other critical moments when the mind is ruffled by the vicissitudes of life, when past knowledge and experience fail to afford relief and when the situation seems uncomprehensible, comes to their rescue. By his peculiar device the 'Bharara' determines the identity of the offended deity and prescribes various means to appease it, and thereby to relieve the victim from the crippling clutches of the deity. For example, a woman who had proved barren for long or given birth to a dead child, but who has now become pregnant, must not only wear a charmed amulet during her pregnancy but she must also get it renewed by the Bharara on the birth of the desired issue, so as to serve till the second issue is born; which stage being reached, the woman is supposed to be out of the circle of evil influence. In serious cases the gravity of which can only be understood by the Bharara, he not only gives a charmed amulet, but sometimes also gives his

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indigenous medicine which others are not allowed to know,—the superstition being that the medicine, if known to others must, necessarily, lose its efficacy. So strong is the faith in the exclusive role of the deities in the matter of granting children to them that the Tharu women of even the most enlightened families often go to crave the boon from the shrine of 'Guru Nankshah' in Nankmata, Tahsil Satargunj, District Nainital. Thus it is by a constant propitiation of their gods and the indispensable aid of the Bharara that the Tharu women seek protection during pregnancy—one of the vital crises of their life.

(b) On Delivery.

For about two or three days before the actual delivery, the prospective mother generally feels labour-pains, and the greater the intensity of pain, the greater they begin to suspect the interference of gods and spirits. While pregnant, a woman of the Thāṛūs, unlike the plainswoman enjoys almost unfettered freedom of movement and work in respect of her domestic and outdoor duties; but with the realization of pain (about two or three days before delivery) begins her period of confinement after which she cannot move out of the four walls of the room specially allotted to her in the house. This room for the prospective mother is peculiary arranged and decorated, a description of the arrangement of the paraphenalia of which seems to be of anthropological interest inasmuchas it throws light on some of the ancient customs and whims of

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the people. Inside the room a portion of the floor is strewn with green grass, 'Kans' or 'Kusa', so as to serve as the bed for the 'Jachha' (prospective mother); by the side of the grass-bed (the grass of which has got to be daily replaced by fresh grass) a heap of fire is always kept burning and in between the grass-bed and the fire is placed an iron tool usually a 'hansia' (scythe) or 'gahdala' (an earth-digging tool); while outside on the door of the room are hung thorny branches of 'Jaman' or 'Ber' trees and a 'Pakhai, (fishing net). Some of the paraphernalia that we find both outside and inside the room of the 'Jachha' appear to have come down from the period of the early settlement of the Tharus in the Tarai when they could have resorted only to Nature to get the available material for decoration, one of their characteristic hobbies. Others appear to be the superstitions and hallucinations which the peculiar geographical environment of the Tarai must have engendered in a wandering people by nature suspicious of the new and the strange: The burning fire, the iron tool, the thorny branches and the entangling nets are, all intended to afford protection to the 'Jachha' and the newborn child from the evil eye and the malevolent spirits who, as the Tharus believe, ever remain hovering round the room of the 'Jachha' during her period of confinement.

Thāṛū women assist each other at the time of child-birth and never require the assistance

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of trained mid-wives. Old women usually serve as midwives and are sometimes believed to possess considerable skill in aiding delivery, although they are without special training for the function they perform. Custom is too deeply ingrained for them to profit much from their own experience. They believe in aiding nature rather than in letting nature take its own course, even in normal cases. If in stubborn cases, the midwife, with all her endeavours, cannot bring things to a successful pass, she sends for the soothsayer or the medicine-man, viz, the 'Bharara', who usually pronounces certain 'Mantras' (incantations) over the suffering woman. Instances are not wanting in which the services of the Bharara on such critical occasions have proved of immense help to them, but how they effect relief is a mystery. For her services, the mid-wife receives two and a half maunds of paddy in the case of a male issue and only two maunds in the case of a female issue while the Bharara is remunerated in each case by usually Rs. 1/4/-.

For three days after the birth of the child, the mother is not allowed to taste anything except hot water. On the fourth day the bodies of both the Jachha and the child are rubbed with wine or mustard oil, on which charms and auspicious words had been previously pronounced by the Bharara, and the former is also given "Harira" (a tonic preperation consisting of sugar, dry ginger, gum etc.). Substantial foood, however, is administered to the Jachha on the 'Chatti'

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day (viz., 6th day after the birth) which is also the day meant for amusing and singing by the village women. The mother of the new-born child is regarded as unclean for the first fifteen days after delivery and, consequently, she is not touched by anybody except the midwife. It is on the fifteenth day, that after she has taken bath and cleaned her clothes, her segregation from the rest of the family comes to an end and she is once again allowed to enjoy her former status, except that she cannot discharge the domestic duties for about one month till she has recovered her former strength. In this connection it is noteworthy that the new-born child is, at first, taken to be a stranger, and it is regarded as a member of the social group only after the *'Kāchhi-pākki roṭi' (food)* has been served to the *'brādri'* (castemen) on the *'Aam chhatt day'*—a day fixed, generally, after the fifteenth day so that along with the admission of the new child into the social group, the *Jachha* (who is supposed to be clean after the fifteenth day) may also be recognised as such by the *'brādri'*.

(c) Name-giving ceremony.

There is no time fixed for this ceremony and it depends upon the sweet will of the parents as to when they would like to perform it. But generally, the ceremony is performed after one and a half month of the delivery, preferably on the *'Khās chhṭṭi* day,' when all the relations and fellow-tribesmen must be sent for and the ceremony performed amidst much singing and dancing.

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Before, however, the actual name-giving ceremony begins the assembled relations and fellowmen, as a matter of social etiquette, offer money or clothes as presents to the new child. But in case the child is one who is born after a long time to a barren mother or to a mother whose previous issues had all died immediately after delivery, it must be taken from door to door to beg alms; the idea being that such a child is not meant by god to belong to the parents of whom it is born, but is intended for the community at large and, as such, it should be brought up by the community. There is, however, a divergence of opinion on the point because some Tharus explain this practice of begging alms as a means to secure prosperity and longevity to the new child. Besides this there are verious other ways which are employed for the benefit of the new child on the same auspicious day. For example, the parents of the child on its birth sometimes take such solemn vows as that they would not eat a certain vegetable or sweetmeat till it is offered to them by the wife of the child, or that the child will be brought up at the expense of their neighbours till it has attained a certain age, and so on.

Having made such solemn vows at the altar of their god, the parents then proceed to give a name to the child. The peculiar mode by which they determine the name and the formalities that have to be undergone are matters of anthropological interest, inasmuch as they emphasise the truth that the two important

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aspects viz., economic pursuits and social life are not independent but are inextricably associated with each other, so much so, that one cannot be studied without reference to the other. The main occupation of the Thāṛūs is agriculture, and it will be seen that it reflects itself in protean forms in their various social customs. A sufficient quantity of some corn e. g. gram, wheat, rice, etc., which suggests itself to the parents at that time is placed on a '*soop*' (a winnowing-basket) and afterwards levelled to form a smooth surface io it. The child is then placed on the '*soop*' and allowed to lie in it for a few minutes while the parents repeat some prayer for the benefit of the child. After the prayer, the child is taken out of the '*soop*,' bathed and dressed in new garments. The parents then proclaim before the assemblage of relatives and fellow-tribesmen the name of the child which is mostly given after the name of the corn on which the child was placed. Thus it is for this reason that we find the names of most of the Thāṛus after some corn, i. e.,

'Dhānua' after 'Dhān' (paddy)
'Chānua' after 'Chānā' (gram)
'Masurā' after 'Masur' (a kind of pulse).
'Urdā' after 'Urad' (another pulse).
'Moongā' after 'Mung' (another pulse)
... ... and so on.

(d) Hair-Cutting ceremony.

The Hair-cutting ceremony or 'Munṛo' as it is called seems to be one of considerable importance among the Thāṛūs. A special sanctitity is attach-

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ed to the function, and peculiar ideas are entertained, such as that not only should the hair be cut on an auspicious day e. g., on the fair of Guru Nānakshāh at Nānakmāta (Tahsil Satargunj, District Nainital) or some other Thāṛū festival, but that the hair so cut should also be offered to some holy shrine of their gods or to the holy waters of the Ganges or Sharda. One thing regarding the ceremony is very characteristic, viz., that the Thāṛūs very scrupulously protect the first hair from being stolen by others; the superstition being that the first hair, if stolen, would cut short the life of the child.

Betrothal and Marriage amongst the Thāṛūs.

What was the usual tenure of Thāṛū marriage in early times, no body knows and, perhaps, cannot be determined with any certainty. The vast mass of jumbled up data regarding the course through which the 'river of marriage' might have flowed, does not seem to convey any definite notion except *that the evolution of marriage among the Thāṛūs has been divers and multilinear.* The same fact is also expressed by saying that before they had settled as agriculturists in the Tarāi,—a period when life was unsettled and uncertain, when the task of procuring food was arduous and demanded many hands, and, when growing disparity of numbers between the two sexes was creating an anxious situation,—they had no regular code of marriage, and any mode by which matrimonial alliances could be established under

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the circumstances was resorted to. Thus, the various forms of marriage, viz., by capture, by purchase, prenuptial license, polygamy etc., were perhaps at one time not uncommon among the Thāṛūs. Instances of such forms of marriage have been quoted by such authorities as Nesfield, Risley, Ibbetson and others. But it must, however, be mentioned that since the Thāṛūs have made their parmanent abode in the Tarāi and have come into contact which civilized communities, not only have their marriage customs become more or less uniform but most of these primitive forms of marriages are also becoming obsolete, though, undoubtedly, there exist survivals to which we shall have occasion to refer after a detailed study of the code of marriage as it exists to-day.

It may, at the very outset, be noted that unlike the Hindus the idea of marriage among the Thāṛūs is not that of sacrament but of contract which may be annulled at the instance of the parties and, consequently, divorce and widow-remarriage are a common rule. Polygamy is not prohibited but is often practised. Barrenness, physical defect, disease and need of additional help in field-work are the principal motives that induce men to take more than one wife. But the choice of the bride is limited by the rule of exogamy; in other words, the bride must neither be a blood relation to the husband chosen for her, nor of the same village, nor of the same Kuri *

* The Thārus are divided into 7 *Kuris* or clans, viz., 1. *Badvait*, 2. *Batha*, 3. *Birtia*, 4. *Rawat*, 5. *Dahait*, 6. *Maton*, 7. *Lohar*.

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(clan) and lastly, she should also not belong to any other tribe, i. e., the Thāṛūs are endogamous with respect to the whole tribe, but exogamous with respect to the clans. The restrictions that the bride should not belong to the same Kuri or village as that of the husband are every day becoming less rigid though the restrictions as to blood relation are strictly preserved. There are, besides these, other important qualifications which must be considered before a bride is finally chosen. It appears that the parents of the bridegroom do not attach so much importance to physical beauty as to the two necessary qualities, viz., (1) whether the bride knows fishing and hunting, and, (2) whether she is good at basket-making and needle-work. In fact, so essential these qualities of a bride are supposed to be that one lacking in them can never be married in a well-to-do family.

Betrothals are now generally arranged in childhood but the marriage proper takes place after the parties have attained the age of puberty, generally between 17 and 18 years of age. There is no puberty ceremony among them, but a girl is supposed to attain puberty after her first menses. It is important that the favourite month for the marriage is 'Māgh' (January—February), and the only days on which marriage can be solemnised are Thursdays and Sundays. But why other days of the week are not chosen the Thāṛūs do not know except that it has been so from time immemorial—an instance, which well illustrates that the primitive man far from being the

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free and unfettered creature of Rousseau's imagination is perhaps hemmed in on all sides by the customs and traditions of antiquity. On the contrary, the choice of the month has a rational basis; because then the harvest-season is over, work is light and there is plenty to eat and drink.

The agency by which the marriage is brought is a special characteristic of the Thāṛūs. The negotiations for a marriage are not carried on by the parents or guardians of the parties but by an intermediary, viz., 'Majpatia' who plays a very important role in bringing about matrimonial alliances. There are in every Thāṛū village generally two or three Majpatias who always remain on the look-out for brides and bridegrooms, and whenever they bring about a settlement of marriage they are remunerated for their services in cash as well as in kind by both parties. They are sometimes supposed to possess the art of reading faces, which not only aids them in selecting or rejecting a match but also entitles them to special respect by all alike in the village. The Majpatia usually selects the match in childhood and informs the parents of both parties about his intention to that effect. An auspicious day is fixed for 'Dikhnauri' when the representatives of the bride accompanied by the 'Majaptia' go to see the bridegroom and his people. The latter serve the 'Dikhnauri' (representatives of the bride) usually with wine, meat and *'jalebi'* (a kind of cheap sweetmeat with which the the Thāṛūs always entertain their guests) while the former give money (varying

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from four annas to Rs. 1/4/-) to the bridegroom as 'Tika'. The Dikhnauri is followed by certain formalities on the part of the parents of the bridegroom which have to be undergone before the wedding is finally celebrated. These are :—

a. The "apna-paraya" ceremony.
b. The Batkahi ceremony.
c. The wedding proper.
d. The 'Chala'.

(a) The 'apna-paraya' ceremony.

After two or three years of the ceremony of 'Dikhnauri', the representatives of the bridegroom's side consisting of the father, the 'Majpatia' and five other relatives or fellow-villagers take some fish, one 'Bheli of Gūṛ', and some sweet-meats generally worth Rs. 1/4/- to the bride's people. After the usual salutations the father of the bridegroom enquires about the two necesary qualities of the bride in the following terms :—

1. "*Tumhari lauria kachu sirkar-ukaro khilno jant hai; nai tau meri laurah sikar kaun khilahiyeri*". That is, 'Does your daughter know fishing and hunting? If not, how shall my son get fish and meat to eat'?

2. "*Kachu binno—bunno-oo janatre*" i. e., 'Does she know basket-makiug and needle-work?'. If the father approves of the bride and the proposal is agreed to, the presents referred to above are handed over to the bride's people. The latter then send the village 'Harkara' (a proclaimer) to collect the villagers in order to participate in the function of the 'Apna-Paraya ceremony'. The 'gūṛ' is distributed among

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the friends and the relatives of the bride who in return give money compensation to the bride for having partaken of the 'gūṛ' which really belonged to her. The sweets are intended for the bride's mother as the '*dūdh pilāi*' (price for her milk), while the fish is presented as an auspicious gift to the bride's people. The bridegroom's party also serve liquor, fish and meat to the bride's friends and relatives, the expenses varying according to the size and the population of the village. The bride's father and the groom's father then proceed to perform what is konwn as the '*Merha larai* ceremony' according to which they take a '*bilia*' (small plate of metal) each in their hands, put a rupee in their respective '*bilias*', and standing in this position the father of the bridegroom salutes the father of the bride saying, "Rām Rām Samdhi", while the latter besides responding to the salutes in the same terms also gives his rupee to the former. After this is over, the father of the bridegroom gives from two to five rupees to the village 'panchayat' (of the bride's village) and from one to one-and-a quarter rupee to the bride ; while the other representatives of the bridegroom's side generally give one rupee each to the bride. In the evening the bridegroom's people return to the village. The next morning the bridegroom's father collects his fellow-villagers and in their presence gives two to five rupees to the village 'Panch'. This is immediately followed by singing and dancing by the villagers present on the occa-

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sion. The Apna-Paraya ceremony makes the betrothal complete and binding, and either party resiling from the transaction without sufficient and reasonable grounds is liable to pay not only the actual damages but also a penalty of Rs. 25/-. The essence of the ceremony consists in the fact that the bride and the bridegroom have both made themselves 'paraya' to each other i. e., come to be regarded as belonging to each other.

After one year of the performance of the 'Apna-Paraya ceremony' the bridegroom's people take to the bride's people sweet 'puris' (a kind of bread), an 'Angia' (bodice) and Rs. 1/4/- in a beautiful basket, which is specially prepared by the bridegroom's mother to show her skill in the art. The Puris are distributed in the village 'champal' (court-yard) the same night. The next time they take a 'dāli' (present) of big fish to the bride's people which is specially meant to show that the art of catching fish is also known to the bridegroom's people. These two 'dālis' of the bridegroom's people which are presented to the bride's people to show the skill in the two necessary arts. viz, fishing and basket-making, are usually followed by a big 'dāli' by the latter consisting of a beautifull basket prepared by the bride, double the amount of fish and double the amount of money sent by the former. This is again followed by a 'dāli' of the bridegroom's people for the last time when the father of the bridegroom with the present of fish and the 'Majpatia' go to the bride's people

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to settle terms relating to the dowry (*godem*)* expenses etc., and the date for the performance of the 'Batkahi ceremony'.

(b) The Batkahi or the declaration ceremony.

This ceremony generally takes place on a Thursday or a Sunday in the bright half of the month of 'Pus' i. e., November. The main purpose of the ceremony is to settle the date for the marriage or wedding. The representatives of the bridegroom take sweets (generally coloured 'Peras') in two 'mutuka' i. e.. earthen jars, two *bheli* of '*guṛ*' (molasses) and fish to the bride's people. The '*guṛ*' is sent for distribution among the villagers, while the sweets are meant for the gods and deities worshipped by the bride's people. As in the '*apna-paraya*' ceremony, the villagers are called and served with '*guṛ*'; the friends and relatives of the bride are served with fish, meat and liquor by the bridegroom's party and the '*Merha larai*' ceremony is performed by the parents of the bride and groom. The bridegroom's party is then served with drinks by the bride's people in the presence of the villagers who, all this time, speak highly of the bride's attainments. This gives them joy and makes them drink more and more till they get dead drunk. After these formalities are over, the father of the bridegroom asks the bride's father for the formal declaration of his willingness to perform the

* It is a kind of dower which the bride's people demand from the bridegroom's people, generally Rs 50/- and 8 *maunds* of rice.

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marriage and acceptance of the date. The father of the bride signifies his assent and fixes a date of marriage falling on Sunday or Thursday in the month af 'magh' i. e., January-February. In the evening the last function in connection with the 'Batkahi ceremony' is performed, viz., the 'Pailgai ceremony', according to which all the women of the bride's house come one after another to touch the feet of the bridegroom's father and the latter in return gives one rupee to each. Thus, as many rupees of the bridegoom's father are spent as the number of the females in the bride's house. The money so obtained in the 'pailgai' ceremony as well as that received in the 'Apna-paraya ceremony' is supposed to belong only to the bride and is, therefore kept apart for her marriage.

(c) The Wedding proper.

After the performance of the 'Batkahi' or the 'Declaration ceremony' the parties begin to make virgorous preparations for the wedding ceremony. These preparations continue till two days before the actual date fixed for the wedding, which days are solely meant for celebrating certain special functions relating to the marriage. In other words, if the marriage is to be solemnised on Sunday, the special functions commence from Friday. This day is supposed to be an auspicious day when the 'goddess of cleanliness' comes in the night to visit the bridegroom's house and give her benediction for the happy performance of the ceremonies that follow. The Thārūs, therefore,

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devote the whole day in washing and repairing their house and in the night after the supposed visit of the deity, they commence singing the first nuptial song. The next day, i. e. Saturday, is always one of the busiest day when not only the four prescribed feasts have to be served to the 'bradri' but a uumber of preliminary functions in respect of marriage have also got to be performed. Early in the morning the males set out to fetch fuel from the jungle (i. e., 'Kotsai') which they require in sufficient quantity to cook food for the feasts, while the bridegroom is anointed with oil and turmeric by his sisters. Two facts in this connection are rather noteworthy: firstly, from this day till the performance of the wedding ceremony, the bridegroom's sister and her husband work as servants for him, and, secondly, the bride at her house must be anointed with the oil and turmeric sent by the bridegroom's people for the purpose and not with that provided by her father. This having been done, the bridegroom is seated in a 'chauk' (a plot in the court-yard on which white lines are drawn with rice-flour) on which two plates,—one containing a sword and 'puris' (a kind of food) and the other, a little quantity of oil—had been previously arranged for the function; and the "Neutariya' or guests (relatives and friends of the bridegroom) are then called to hand over their 'Neuta' (money for the bridegroom's marriage) to the bridegroom. The 'Neutariyas' come one after another, paint the forehead of the bridegroom with oil from the plate placed before him and put

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their rupee in the same afterwards; while each time this is done the bridegroom thrusts his sword in the *puri* in the other plate and taking out the rupee from the other plate gives it to his sister sitting behind him and, she, in her turn, gives it to her mother standing beside her. After this is over, the bridegroom takes his bath and gets himself ready for the performance of the 'Janeu ceremony' or the Sacred-thread ceremony. In this ceremony the bridegroom with five other boys and certain articles viz., one '*bheli* of *gūṛ*' a long thread and a jar of water go to a 'pipal' tree, offer the thread to it and return back after distributing the '*gūṛ*' among them. The feasts are then arranged; the first of 'tel-haldi' (oil and turmeric) is given in the noon, the second of 'neutariya' in the after-noon, the third of 'Neuta' in the night and the last of 'Chaltibera' (starting time) is served on Sunday morning immediatly before the 'barāt' (marriage procession) starts to the bride's village. But before, however, the marriage procession starts, the females of the bridegroom's family go singing on musical instruments to the Padhān's (headman of the village) house for what is known as 'sar dena'; according to which the females of the bridegroom's family present rice and '*gūṛ*' in a plate to the wife of the Padhān, who accepts the '*gūṛ*' only and gives rice in exchange for it. The acceptance of the '*gūṛ*' which is really the essence of the 'Sar denā ceremony' is understood to indicate the assent of the Padhān's wife to start the procession. After having thus obtained her assent, the

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procession is arranged in a row before it finally starts. The 'Pindus' [1] (palanquin) or the 'Miana' [2] (open palanquin) of the bridegroom leads the procession while the other 'rahlus' (conveyances) of the party follow it. The procession starts amidst much joy and shouting of the party, which is further accentuated by a similar response of the village women who also follow the procession to the local village boundary to give it a good send-off. On reaching the boundary of the village, the procession stops to worship the village godlings and to safe-guard against the godlings and spirits of the new village who may do mischief to the processionists, particularly, to the bridegroom,—the supposed favourite victim of outside spirits and godlings. Here comes the role of the *Bharara* who not only chants certain *mantras* to appease the local deities but also devises means to fortify the procession against the evil influence of outside godlings. He pronounces certain charms and *mantras* over a cupful of water, which has afterwards got to be continually sprinkled on the bridegroom by his sister's husband till the procession has reached its destination safely. It must be noted in this connection that the marriage procession is usually detained outside the boundary of the bride's village, and is allowed to enter it only after sunset. Thus, while the procession is detained outside the boundary, some of the bride's people indulge in the customary practice

[1] '*Pindus*' is used by rich men.

[2] '*Miana*' is used by poor men who cannot procure a '*Pindus*'.

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of throwing brickbats at the processionists as a sort of mock defence, technically, known as 'dilmarai'; while, others worship the village 'Sar' (cattle-shed) and 'Bhumia' (i. e., Shrines of the village deities) for the benefit of the bride and the bride-groom. After toe worship and the 'dilmarai' are over, the bride's people welcome the procession by sending their own 'Pindu' for the bridegroom. The procession then, headed by 'pindus' of the bridegroom, marches again to the tune of the musical instruments, punctuated now and then by shouts, into the bride's village till it reaches the 'Daraza' (door), of the bride's house which is usually well-decorated with green leaves and coloured flowers. The bride's father then comes forward for the 'āgmani' i. e., he salutes the marriage party by saying 'Ram Ram' a number of times and leads it to the 'Jalmasa' (a house specially arranged for the marriage party) where the party stays that night. But the 'Bahnoi' or the husband of the bridegroom's sister (who throughout the way remains with the bridegroom's 'Pindus' with the chermed water) and the bridegroom (while still seated in the Pindus) are led straight into the bride's house for the performance of certain necessary cerimonies. The Bahnoi of the bridegroom takes the groom out of the 'Pindus' in his lap and presents him before the bride's mother. The elder sister-in-law of the bridegroom then comes to him with a 'loṭā' (vessel) full of water placed on her head, and the bridegroom gives her a rupee for showing the auspicious symbol, viz., the vessel full of water. The 'Bahnoi' of

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the bridegroom then presents the clothes of 'dālā' (2 pairs of clothes—one pair for the wedding occasion and the other for the *chala*) to the wife of the bride's elder brother who accepts them and demands from the 'Bahnoi' of the bridegroom, a rupee and two pice for unfastening the knot of the 'dālā'. This is immediately followed by merry jokes between the Bahnoi of the bridegroom on the one side and the bride's brothers on the other. It is remarkable that there is no limit to the obscenity of language that may be bandied back and forth between these relations. This continues for a considerable time, while in the meantime the bride is anointed with oil and 'haldi' and dressed in new unwashed clothes (received in the 'dālā') for the performance of the 'Bhanwar ceremony' i. e., circum-ambulation. It is noteworthy that the circum-ambulation ceremony is performed only in the night in secrecy; as, not only no other man of the bridegroom's party (except of course the bridegroom and his Bahnoi) is allowed to attend the performance but the bride has also to observe 'Pardā' for all this time,—an institution which the Tharu ladies never observe in their after-life. The presence of the Brahmins is not required, nor is any god worshipped, nor any 'puja' performed at the marriage and nor is any 'Mandap' (thatched roof) erected in the courtyard of the bride's house;—these are some of the important points in which they differ from the Hindus of the plains. In the courtyard of the bride's house is placed a wicker basket con-

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taining five articles of clothing for the bridegroom,—fish, *dahi* or curds and a jar full of water. On the jar is placed a 'Karva' or small jug and on its top a lighted clay lamp. According to the Tharus, these articles which are placed before the bride and the bridegroom around which they have to circumambulate, are intended to serve two functions; firstly, they are necessary as auspicious signs on the happy occasion of marriage and, secondly, they remind the newly wedded pair of the hunting, pastoral and agricultural operations they have to follow in life. After these necessary articles have been placed in the courtyard of the bride's house, the bride and the bridegroom are then led to the scene; the former being supported by her brother's wife and the latter by his sister's husband or in his absence by his 'Phupa' (father's sister's husband). This support which these relations give to the bride and the bridegroom and for which they get a remuneration of Rs. 1/4/- each from the bridegroom's people is technically known as 'Ganthiandhan' i. e., tying the knot in the clothes of the bride and the groom. The 'Ganthiandhan' is then immediately followed by the 'Kanyādān ceremony' (giving away of the bride by her relations) in which the right palm of the bridegroom is placed upon the right palm of the bride and while in this position, the bride's relations (only those elder to the bride) one after another present money and clothes to the bride by putting them on their joined hands. After this is over the wedding creemony proper commences. This is technically known as 'Bhanwari

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ceremony', which consists in the bride and the bridegroom circum-ambulating the basket 7 times, in which the bridegroom leads in the first six rounds and the bride in the last round. Regarding the real significance of these seven rounds we cannot know definitely because the Tharus explain it as nothing more than an old custom which has been handed down to them. But it is quite possible that they have imitated a similar custom of the Hindus viz., 'Saptapadi' according to which the bride and the bridegroom circum-ambulate the sacred fire 7 times, which signify seven promises they make to each other. The 'Bhanware' ceremony makes the marriage complete and binding and, consequently, the bride becomes socially entitled to wear 'chooṛies' (bangles) and 'Bichuās' (metal rings for the toes)—the symbols of wifehood. The 'Bichuās' may, however, be taken off if the wife so desires, but the *choories* can never be taken off so long as the husband is alive, and so scrupulously is the latter rule observed that should the wife dis-regard it, the 'Panchāyat' would impose a penalty on her and her people.

After the wedding ceremony is over late in the night the bride's people serve the bridegroom's party with food e. g., rice, 'Urad' pulse, curry of vegetables such as potato etc., but not meat, which though otherwise an essential article of food is strictly prohibited on the happy occasion of marriage. The party is served outside while the bridegroom takes his food inside the house. But while the party at once begins to take the

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food which is served, the bridegroom would not accept it unless he is paid some money, generally two Rupees, a loṭā (vessel) and a plate as his 'hap' (due). While the bridegroom takes his food, his sisters-in-law constantly tease him by joking and concealing his belongings, specially the shoes, which they give him only after they have been paid Rs. 1/4/- as their 'haq' (due) by the bridegroom. In the morning the bridegroom's party is again served by with food the bride's people, and this time, the bridegroom also takes his food along with the party. After the party has been served we see, among the Tharus, the performance of certain necessary functions of social etiquette which all show the intense communal life and the feelings of mutual reciprocity and friendship which cannot but impress an outsider. The Tharus of the bride's village regard it as a sort of social obligation to give some presents to the bride (who is regarded as the girl of the whole village) and also a good send-off at least up to the village boundary. The well-to-do villagers present 'pagri' (turban), 'Jhagia' (gownlike garment) and money to the bridegroom and 'Unnia' and 'Ghangria' to the bride, while the poor villagers, however poor they may be, usually manage to present at least an 'Angocha' (a small piece of cloth) and two pice to the bridegroom. While these functions are performed outside, preparations are made for the bride's 'bida' (departure) inside the house. The father of the bridegroom is called in by the mother of the bride who imprints her red-coloured palm on the

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back of her 'samdhi' i. e., the father of the bridegroom. Along with the bride in the palanquin sit her mother or sister and the palanquin is taken out of the house by her people only, who along with the villagemen and women also accompany the bride's palanquin to the village boundary. But before, however, the palanquin is allowed to be taken outside the house, the wife of the bride's brother must be paid her 'haq' (Rs. 5/-) of 'Chadar-dabai' (holding the bride's covering) by the bridegroom's people. On reaching the boundary, the mother or sister get down the palanquin to let it proceed to the other village, but the bride's brother would not allow it to go unless he has been paid his 'haq' of 'dhulpakarai' (holding the palanquin), usually Rs. 8/-, by the bridegroom's people. The father of the bride then also demands about Rs. 15 [3] as remuneration for the servants employed by him for the confort of the bridegroom's party. After these charges have been paid by the bridegroom's people, the procession proceeds to its own village, and no sooner does it begin to move than the bride begins to cry and bewail some one of her relatives who has lately died, and this she continues to do almost the whole way. It is characteristic of this people that unlike the Hindus some five or six women of the village and the younger brother of the bride also follow the bride's palanquin in a seperate conveyance to her new home in the bridegroom's village. The procession thus headed by the bride's palanquin

[3] The bridegroom's people have to spend more than the bride's people. It is estimated that the ratio is 5 : 1.

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and followed by other conveyances marches on amidst much shouting and joy till it reaches the boundary of the bridegroom's village where before entering the village it is stopped for the performance of some worship by the Bharara. He usually takes a little quantity of water in his hand and after pronouncing certain charms over it, throws it in the direction of the bride's village in order to ward off the malevolent spirits on the way. But if it is the last marriage in the family of the bridegroom, the worship performed by the Bharara is much different. In such a case the Bharara makes some balls out of a little quantity of kneaded flour, takes them three times (the number 'three' is regarded as magical) round the whole line of procession then enters the village, and as it marches through the village gradually becomes thiner and thiner till there remain only the bride, the bridegroom and his relations when they reach the door of their house. The bride and the bridegroom are welcomed at the door by the sisters of the latter who lead them straight in for the observance of the usual custom of tasting the fixed quantity of rice and curd from the hand of each other. This is followed by singing of the females of the house, and later on, by a mock fight with sticks between the bride and the bridegroom. The rest of the day is thus spent in and singing when merry-making with the approach of evening, preparations are made for the feast of 'Bahujya' to be served to the village people and to the 'Ninahariya' (the relations of the bride) who come the same night to take her

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back to their village next morning; because, as a rule, the bride cannot stay for more than one night for the first time. The purpose of this feast is twofold; in the first place, it expresses the extreme joy of the bridegroom's people on the happy nuptial celebrations and, in the second place, it is supposed to raise the status of the bridegroom's people in the estimation of the bride's people, the 'Ninabariye'. It is remarkable that hence-forward the bridegroom instead of feeling shy (as he hitherto did) takes an active part in serving the Ninahariya and the village people. He usually folds his 'Jhagia' (gownlike garment of marriage) on the waist and takes upon himself such duties as washing the hands and feet of the guests, presenting them the 'Hukka' to smoke, seving them with food and drink, etc. The feast of the 'Bahujya' is technically called the 'Kachi-pakki roṭi' because it consists of rice and pulse on the one hand and 'puris', meat and drink on the other. The first morsel of the food is taken by the 'Padhan' and the 'Padhania' (Padhan's wife), while the 'Ninhariye' and the village people follow them. The bridegroom is called upon by the 'Ninahariye' (while they take their food) to remunerate him for 'hāthpāirdhulai' i. e., washing of hands and feet, and they usually give him Rs. 2/- for it. Other villagers also remunerate him for such services according to their eans. In the morning before the 'Ninahariye' and the bride set out for their village, they are again served by the bridegroom's people with *roti*, meat and drink. It is noteworthy

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that the 'Bahujya' and the departing feasts must always be splendid and costly, because it is these which determine the status of the bridegroom's people in the society.

(d) The Chala.

The 'Chala' of the Tharus corresponds to the 'gauna' (second marriage ceremony) among the Hindus. It takes place two or three months after the marriage usually, in the bright half of the month of 'Chait' or 'Baisakh' (April-May). The bridegroom, his 'Sahbilla' (his younger brother) and a band of five or six villagers go to the bride's people for the performace of the 'Chala' ceremony. They stay there one night, enjoy grand feasts and return with the bride to their village the next morning. This time the bride stays for about a week with her husband after which she is again taken back by her people. The second 'Chala' takes place in the month of 'Asar' or 'Bhadon' (June or August) after which the wife begins to live permanently with the husband. The 'Chala' ceremony, though insignificant as compared with the wedding ceremony, proper, furnishes two important data which throw light on the matrimonial relations of the Tharus, viz., firstly, the husband must always go with his kinsmen and villagers to fetch his wife, and secondly, the father of the bridegroom cannot enter the bride's village or house, and must take permission of the bride's father before doing so.

Besides the marriage proper as described above, there are also a few other modes of contracting

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matrimonial alliance. These are, the 'Kaj', the 'Chutkatta' and the 'Dola ceremonies.

1. The Kaj.

Instead of undergoing the ceremonies of the marriage proper, a man often keeps the widow or the relinquished wife of another man as his wife, and undergoes a less formal ceremony. This is called the 'Kaj', and the wife so taken is known as the 'Kaj karu' wife. A maiden is, however, precluded from being taken as a wife by the Kaj ceremony and must undergo the regular marriage rites. The formalities of the 'Apna-Paraya' and the 'Batkahi' ceremonies which form an integral part of the 'marriage proper' are not observed in the marriage by 'Kaj',—a fact which makes this form of marriage a cheap affair and, consequently, a cause of temptation to the poor, who cannot bear the expenses of a regular marriage. Nor is the wedding ceremony performed in the same way as in the case of the marriage proper. While in a regular marriage the 'Pheras' (circumambulations) take place round a basket placed in the courtyard of the bride's house; in the Kaj, they take place generally outside the house, preferably, round a 'ber' or a 'Pipal tree' both of which are regarded as sacred and symbolical of productivtiy. So also, whereas a marriage proper can be performed only in the month of 'Magh' (Jan-Feb.), a Kaj may be performed at any time. In other words, that amount of sanctity which is attached to marriage proper as a recognised institution is not attached

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to Kaj. After the Kaj the widow or the relinquished wife of another who is taken as the Kaj-karu wife puts on 'choories' and 'Bichuas' as symbols of wifehood. These choories and Bichuas are usually given to the widow by the Padhan and the Padhania of the village, and the latter receive compensation from the new husband viz., Rs. 2/8/- to the Padhania and a Pagri (turban) to the Padhan. Thus, we see that the marriage by Kaj differs materially from marriage proper. The motives which actuate a Tharu to take a Kaj-karu wife are generally two; firstly, it is the resort of the poor who cannot afford to beer the expenses of a regular marriage and, secondly, it is a legal mode of taking to wife a widow with whom a Tharu has, somehow or other, fallen in love. But despite the material deviations in details from the marriage proper, the Kaj-karu wife and her children, in the eye of the law, enjoy the same status as a married wife and her children.

2. Chutkatta.

But the case is different when the widow instead of marrying by Kaj chooses to live in her deceased husband's family with an outsider as her new husband. This is allowed by the performance of 'chutkatta' (cutting the man's choti ar the top-knot), and the husband so adopted is accordingly called the 'Chutkatta'. He is also known as 'Gharbaitha' by the fact of joining a new family on account of 'ras' or love. The ceremony which validates the adoption of a

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man as a husband consists in the widow's cutting, in the midst of the 'Bradri', a wisp of hair from the man's 'choti' (top-knot) with scissors which give the man the name of 'chutkatta' i. e., one whose *choti* or top-knot has been cut. But before, however, a *chutkatta* can take a widow as his wife he must pay the 'Haq' (right) of the widow's 'dewar' i. e. the younger brother of the deceased husband. It is important that the wisp of hair so cut is never thrown away lest the 'chut-katta' (the new husband) should betray the love of his wife (the widow) and go astray. Therefore, either she wears it on her person or buries it underground in the courtyard of the *chutkatta*, on the one hand, severs all connections with his natural family in respect of his rights and duties, on the other, he is admitted to full membership of the family of the decesed husband and, in fact, fully represents him. So also, the legal status of the children of the 'chutkatta' is recognised on an equal footing with the children (if any) of the former husband. Even in case the woman dies, the *chutkatta* would still be entitled to all the rights and duties in the family, as if he were the first husband of the woman. Similarly, he is also entitled to a full share, if he is dishonestly or unreasonably turned out of the family by the wife or her people. But if, on the other hand, he leaves the family of the wife of his own accord, he gets nothing. Sometimes it often happens that the *chutkatta* and his wife both

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desire to desert the famiiy home and live in a separate house, in which case they lose all right except that they are given 12 *maunds* of corn, a plough, a pair of bullocks and some cooking utensils—things which are necessary for an average Tharu.

3. The Dola.

Sometimes instead of disposing of a girl by a regular marriage the father or the guardian of the girl gives her to a man for money compensation. Such disposal of the girl usually takes place at an early age and the money compensation received varies according to the status of the two parties. Generally, it varies from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 500/-. What might have led to the origin of the 'dola', is yet a mystery; the present inducement, however, is to dispose of the girl cheaply. But there has recently been a reaction against the 'dola' in the minds of some enlightened Thaṛus who regard this mode of disposal as totally immoral and unjustifiable under the existing conditions of safety and security. According to them, 'dolā' was probably resorted to at an early stage of their settlement in the Tarai for the double purpose of avoiding incursions of other tribes who practised marriage by capture and of establishihg better relations with the members of their own tribe. But the conditions have now altogether changed; due to "pax Britannica" there exists no longer that insecurity for the Thaṛus which should in any way justify

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the practice of 'dola' in modern times.

From the above description of the existing code of marriage among the Tharus *two facts* are revealed which seem to throw some light on the problem of the history and origin of marriage. It will be of interest to mention them :—

(1) The preparatory oiling of the bridegroom and the preliminary performance of such customs as the thrusting of a dagger into the *'puris'*, the equipment of a the bridegroom with such weapons as dagger and shield, the formal nature of the wedding procession in which males only may take part, the rule that it must reach the bride's village after midday and must not enter the village without permission, the mock-defence of the bride's people by throwing brickbats on the bridegroom's party, the veiling of the bride from the bridegroom's people at the wedding ceremony, the rule that the bridegroom's party must not accept food from the hands of the bride's people after the wedding and must pay for what they eat, the custom of stamping impression of the palm-coloured with red ochre by the bride's mother on the bridegroom's father at the time of departure, the demanding of the 'haq' of 'chadardabai' by the wife of the bride's brother and that of 'dulpakrai' by the bride.s brother, the manner in which the bride goes bewailing to her new home, the mock fight with sticks between the bridegroom at the latter's house, the fetching of the bride by the bride's people the following morning, the rule that after the ceremonial goings

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and comings are over, the wife must never visit her father's house without the permission of the bridegroom's people, the fact that the elder relations of the bride must not eat or drink anything in the house in which the girl is married, the rule that in the '*chāla*' ceremony the bride-groom should not go alone to fetch his wife and that the father of the bridegroom must not enter the bride's village without the permission of her people and, lastly, the fact that all words denoting male relations by marriage are commonly used as terms of abuse e. g., '*susra*', '*sala*', *bahnoi*', '*Jāmai*' or father-in-law, wife's brother, sister's husband and daughter's husband— all point to 'marriage by capture' as being at one time a rule among the Tharus.

(2) The fact that the Tharus of Bihar even today practice marriage by purchase (the bride price [4] being Rs. 9/-), the usual custom of demanding some of the expenses incurred in marriage by the bride's father from the bridegroom's people and, in case of former's poverty, the full expenses of marriage and, lastly, the prevalence of marriage by 'dola' (a kind of sale of the bride by her people) even today—all seem to warrant the presumption that the institution of 'marriage by purchase', was at one time in the history of evolution of marriage, prevalent among Tharus. In other words, though we do not find among the Tharus, all the stages in the evolution of marriage as described by Westermarck, yet on a consideration of the

[4] *Census of India* 1921.

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survivals in the present marriage customs we are led to the conclusion that that the institutions of 'marriage by capture' and 'marriage by purchase' were at one time prevalent among the Tharus.

Death customs amongst the Tharus.

(a) Idea about Death.

To a people highly superstitious by nature for whom everything happens in the realms of the mysterions and unknown, no other crisis of human life seems so strange, so mystical and so terrible as death. Consequently, the customs and practices associated therewith are not only complicated and numerous but they are also more scrupulously observed. It has already been alluded to that the Tharus instead of seeking the assistance of doctors, usualy consult their own village medicineman, the 'Bharar', in cases of illness and other troubles, and to this it may also be added that his presence is supposed to be far more necessary to explain away the mystery on such a vital crisis of life as death. Further, it is also to be noted that for the Tharus there is something contagious about death so that before the dead body is touched by any living man, the cause of death has got to be known from the Bharara who generally explains that such and such god or ghost has been annoyed who must be carefully propitiated lest he should do more harm to other members of the family. By taking into consideration the whole life of the deceased in question and certain other factors (which we do not know) the Bharara also deter-

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mines as to whether or not the soul of the dead will become a ghost—a presumption which is irrebuttable in the case of the death of a Bharara himself. If the dictum of the Bharara is that the dead will become a ghost, special care has to be taken in performing the cremation ceremony as it is necessary on the death of a Bharara. In short the average Tharu is as ignorant about the phenomenon of death as that of pregnancy and birth; the only difference being that while the former is dreadful and unwelcome, the latter is a cause of joy and consequently a thing to be coveted most. If he knows any truth about death, it is only this that death which so paralyses all the sensations and feelings of a living man must, in all probability, be the result of some superhuman and supernatural power—the wrath of gods and the mischief of malevolent spirits.

(b) Customs observed.

Unlike the Hindus, the man may breathe his last on the cot and it is not necessary to take him down on the floor or change the direction of the cot so that the head may point to the north and the feet to the south. The body of the dead is wrapped in a cloth (any cloth will do; white unwashed cloth is not essential as it is in the case of other Hindus) and is taken to the river-side or the jungle on the same cot on which he dies. The cot is supported on the shoulders of four men of the same family, while the procession which follows consists of the

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relatives of the deceased and at least one representative of each Thāṛu family in the village. It is noteworthy that the relatives of the dead must take to the cremation or burial ground, a sickle, an axe and a spade along with the procession. There is a divergence of opinion as to why these weapons are taken to the cremation or burial ground. Some explain it as a survival of the ancient custom when burial rather than cremation was in vogue and when the tools, weapons and belongings of the dead were also buried in his grave; while others hold that these tools are necessarily carried to be utilised for such purposes as, the digging of the grave, cutting the grass, cutting wood etc. Still others explain that such iron tools or weapons as are carried with the dead are necessary to protect the processionists, particularly the man who puts the first fire into the mouth or buries the dead from the evil effects of the malevolent ghosts and spirits who hover round the corpse all the way to the burial ground.

On reaching the burial or cremation ground, the dead body is taken down the cot and a leg of the cot is cut down by the axe, indicating that it was used as a bier for the dead and, therefore, should not be utilized by any living man. Then preparations are made to bury or cremate the dead; the former is now-a-days resorted to only is case of those who die of cholera, small-pox or snake-bite, while the latter in all other cases. How far the alleged custom of burying the tools and weapons in the grave was pre-

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valent in ancient times, we cannot say definitely, though it seems plausible to suppose that it was so, because the form is still preserved in the usual custom of burying or offering to the funeral pyre, three pieces of straw *(tinka)* equal in length respectively to the sickle, the axe and the spade. It is characteristic that while the dead of the male sex is buried or placed on the funeral pyre with its face downwards, that of the female sex is kept with its face upwards. After the burial or cremation is over, the members of the family of the deceased pull out some grass *(kusa)* from the ground near the grave or the pyre, make an effigy of the deceased out of it, fix it near the grave or the pyre and, finally, offer water to it *(Jaldan dena)*, the water being supposed to be offered for the benefit of the dead. The men who had accompanied the death procession take their bath in the river or at some well near by and return with the relations of the dead towards the village site. But before they enter the village boundary certain precautions are taken against the ghosts and spirits who are supposed to pursue the relatives of the deceased. A mark is made on the ground with the spade on which a thorny branch of a *'bar'* tree is placed with the idea that the thorns may pierce the body of the spirit and thereby prevent it from crossing the mark. The men jump over it one after another and, each time as a man jumps, he throws mud and brickbats towards his back to check the spirits from pursuing him.

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The men after entering the village boundary do not begin to disperse but accompany the relations of the deceased to their house. On reaching the house of the deceased they put the sickle, the axe and the spade in the courtyard, stand in a row near them, then sit in a row for a little while, and finally get up and disperse to their respective houses. These formalities are necessary to assure the members of the family of the deceased the villagers also condole the loss of the dead with them. The villagers after dispersing from the house of the deceased do not enter their houses directly but must take their bath outside before doing so. The relations of the deceased wash their house the same day and clean their clothes and beddings. The males of the house get all the hair of their head (including even the choti, i. e., the top-knot which other Hindus scrupulously preserve) shaved while the females only wash their head. They, however, accompany the widow (if any) of the deceased to the well, where she breaks her glass bangles, the emblem of wifehood.

For the first three days after the death, the 'bradri' cannot take food in the house of the deceased, because it is supposen to be unclean for these days. On the fourth day, the 'rōṭi of Sudh' (feast for cleanliness) is served to the 'Baradri' and it is after this has been served that the family of the deceased regains its former status in society. Certain formalities have, however, got to be observed before the 'Bradari' takes food. Along with the 'Bradari,' in the same

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row a separate plate of food is set spart for the soul of the dead, and besides this, the first morsel from every plate is also offered to the soul. Again, after they have taken thier food the residue of each plate is also collected in a separate plate. Thus three plates are arranged for the soul, viz; the first, of the 'Parosa' (separate plate arranged along with others); the second, of the first morsels from every plate; and the third, of the residue from each plate. In the night, the relations of the dead carry the three plates, 'chilam' and tobacco (for smoking), a little quantity of wood, and an earthen vessel full of water, to the mark, which they had made on thier return from the burial ground, outside the village boundary; they arrange these articles in a line and, having done so, run immediately back to the village crying and thus giving vent to the pent-up feelings of fear about the spirit of the dead.

The second feast, which is the last function performed for the spiritual benefit of the deceased, is given to the 'Bradari' on the occasion of the 'Divali' which unlike the Hindus, they regard as an occasion for mourning rather than for festivities. In fact, the 'Divali' is observed only in those families in which some death has occured. Not only is the feast given to the 'Bradari', but special arrangements and preparations are also made to secure every kind of necessaries and comfort for the spirit of the dead. A thatched roof of straw supported on some five or seven

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sugarcanes is erected as a dwelling for the spirit. and under this are arranged such articles as the 'three plates of food' (as in the first feast), two earthen jars full of water with a clay lamp placed over each, beddings and all kinds of clothes which the deceased liked best. Just outside the dwelling is fixed an effigy of the deceased, generally made of grass and straw. A 'Panchhara' (i. e., one who pours water) who may be any male member of the family pours water in a continuous stream upon the effigy, and while this continues the other members and even the villagers offer fish to it. In the evening, the proposed feast of 'Janki' (feast for keeping the whole night) is served to the 'Bradari' and, after it has been served, the members of the family and the villagers indulge in vigorous singing and dancing for the whole night, the purpose of which is to console the spirit of the deceased. Before dawn, the Panchhara pulls down the dwelling, makes a bundle of all the articles except the earthen jars and the clothes and offers it to a flowing stream near the village. He takes his bath in the same river or stream and returns to the family of the deceased with the two jars containing water and the clothes which he had purposely saved for the use of the family. The clothes are given to the younger members of the deceased's family, while the jars full of water are kept in the house separately till the moon first appears in the sky. On the night that the moon first appears, the Panchhara would carry the two jars either on his head or in a 'banhage' (special arrangement consisting of the

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pole supported on the shoulders and the two jars suspended by strings from each end) according as the deceased was a female or a male, to the village boundary to offer water to the spirit of the dead. This is again followed by singing and dancing for the benefit of the deceased.

(c) Ideas about Soul after death :—

The Tharus make a distinction between the soul of an ordinary man and that of a Bharara, though the cause of death is supposed to be the same in both cases, viz., the wrath or malevolence of ghosts and spirits. Regarding the death of a Bharara they are almost convinced that he would never die unless of course it is brought about by the ghosts and spirits who, generally, choose their companions from the Bhararas. Thus, the Bharara after his death, is, in no case touched even by his family members and is therefore taken to the burial ground and buried by other Bhararas of the village, who know best how to combat the mischief that the dead Bharara may possibly cause to them. But the presumption in the case of ordinary men is different. They may or may not become ghosts or spirits on their death. This question is one which is decided by the Bharara called for the purpose. If the finding of the Bharara is that the dead in question would become a ghost, the matter is supposed to be beyond human control. But, if on the other hand, the Bharara thinks that the dead would re-incarnate, ways are adopted to determine the form it would take in the next life. They believe that the soul of the

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dead wanders in space for the first three days after death and reincarnates on the fourth day in a form dependent upon the 'karma' (actions in life) of the man in his former life. Consequently, on the fourth day when the first feast is served to the 'Bardari', a special means is employed to know the form. A little quantity of 'Bhua' i. e., ashes of burnt fuel is spread over a small space on the floor inside a dark room of the house. This is covered by a 'chalani' (sieve) upon which is placed a burning clay lamp and, finally the whole thing is covered up by a 'dhala' (basket of bamboo). The doors of the room are closed for half an hour; in the meanwhile the members of the family mourn the loss of the dead. After half an hour the doors of the room are opened, and, the basket, the lamp and the "chalani" are removed to examine the marks made by the visit of the spirit (of the deceased) on the even level of the floor of ashes. The marks are studied by the Bharara and after intent meditation he declares the form which the soul of the dead has taken. But how he studies the marks and how they help him to determine the form, we do not know.

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VI. MARITAL PROBLEM; A NEW ORIENTATION.

By D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.

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Descriptive accounts of marriage and marital life among the different primitive tribes of India have been recorded by travellers, ethnographers and scientists. Some of these accounts have been meant for light reading, some for scientific purposes and the majority for educating the administrative officers of the crown who know little or nothing about the people whom they have to look after and govern. The method of compiling handbooks and monographs on interesting tribes wherein these accounts are mostly recorded has not been very satisfactory for the simple reason that the wants of a District Officer and that of a scientist are not the same. Yet, they are the only tapers that illumine the hidden recesses of primitive lore and unfold the mass of heterogenous and uncertain data about the primitive substratum of population that still are to be met with in the interior of the forests and on the undulating plateaus of India where they have taken their temporary or permanent abode under pressure from the more dynamic castes that fringe them in the neighbourhood.

No one will perhaps seriously believe that the rites and ceremonies connected with marriage and marital life among the primitive tribes of India represent the crude manifestations of an archaic

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mentality, yet it must be admitted that they are not tinged with the lurid light of a volatile culture which has, among the progressive sections of the people of India, brought about a tremendous social upheaval. Purity of culture like purity of race is an abstract conception and requires a qualitative estimate in order that it may convey its real significance. The existing primitive races of India are not primitive in the sense that they represent isolated or unadulterated cultures but, as Dr. Rivers has pointed out, each one of them has a highly complex history in which rites and customs introduced from elsewhere, perhaps from some highly advanced society, have blended with others of a really primitive or infantile kind. It is no doubt a herculean task to decipher the primitive from the borrowed rites, the infantile from the rest of the traits that make up the culture complex, yet it is possible to grasp the real nature of the innumerable traits associated with the socio-economic life of these tribes provided the curiosity to do so is born of a sympathetic attitude and not of wholesale condemnation.

The facts cited in the following pages have all been collected first-hand during my ethnographic tours in certain specific culture zones. The existing customs and rites regarding marriage and marital life, most of them if not all, do represent the indegenous elements of primitive culture together with the gradual adjustments of the society to the changed conditions of their socio-economic environment.

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Marriage to be successful must be based on certain fundamental principles which will be enduring. Where there is no idea of sanctity it is decided by economic consideration. Where marriage is for social harmony and domestic bliss, it must be based on an element of mysticism, for without such consideration conjugal life becomes tame and matter-of-fact so that interest diminishes resulting in the subservience of one party to the other. Where this element of mysticism is absent or is subordinated to other impulses, the community has to prescribe a convincing code of conduct about marital life which it enjoins on its members. The violation of such social laws leads to a disturbance of social solidarity, harmony and equipoise and is avenged by the society with all the vehemence it commands. Where the element of mysticism is absent and the social control lacking the relation between the sexes is all but satisfactory as is manifested by the increasing number of cases of divorce and of liaisons that we meet with in many of the primitive tribes in India and elsewhere.

To the Kukis, a Mongoloid tribe living in the Lushai hills of Assam, marriage and marital life are determined by an attitude of romance, and society allows an inordinate latitude to its members to select their companions in life. This latitude, however, has not been abused by the Kuki youngman although it will be surprising to learn that the custom of probationary marriage is in vogue amongst them which allows a youngman to live with a young girl of his choice for

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a period which may extend from three months to even two years or more with a view to matrimony. When a young girl and a young man admire each other and when the latter has confidence in his sinews, so that he is in a position to provide for his girl, he approaches the parents of the girl for permission to remain in the house. The parents of the girl already aware of the intention of the girl seldom put any obstacle in his way and the young man is accepted as a member of the household and in all his relations he behaves as if he was born to the family of his adoption. Before he actually begins to share the same houses as his lady-love he has to put up on the entrance to the hut or at an important corner of it, a shield or a *thablē* (a kind of *dao*) or any emblem which will identify him with the sheild or the emblem, this intimating to the villagers that he is in possession of the girl and wants to find out whether their union would be desirable.

From that time onward no other young man will interfere with his acknowledged right over the girl, and seldom has this right been challeged by any other member of the tribe. This custom of probation allows the couple to adapt themselves to their mutual temperament and this envisages a long and blissful conjugal life. This has also the efficacy of obviating the frequency of divorces which in some of the primitive tribes in India has assumed grave proportions. The period of probation varies from three months to two years

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and the longer the period the greater the chance of agreement between the parties. Sometimes it has been found out that the period of probation becomes a permanent condition and the couple live as man and wife without any ceremony. Such pairing is regarded as legitimate. The inability of the bridegroom to bear the expenses of the ceremony of marriage in some cases, has been responsible for such unusual form of approved sex relationship in Kuki society, but the most important consideration which sanctifies such kind of mating is the mutual attraction and admiration between the parties who decide to carry on without the ado of a ceremony. Society recognises the motives of the parties concerned and reposes unalloyed confidence on the sincerity and solicitude of the parties and there has been few cases where this confidence has been misplaced. Such a form of mating would have been an ideal institution if it could be made universal but Kuki society has sanctioned the institution of ceremonial marriage by purchase, where the girl has to be paid for by the young man according to the social status of the parents of the girl, and the latter refuses to marry if the desired brideprice is not forthcoming. Kuki society is vascillating between the custom of bride-price and the ideal of companionship by mutual choice and has introduced the custom of marriage by service. The latter introduces an obligation on the part of the man who has to remain in the family of the bride and her parents and has to liquidate the agreed

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brideprice by his service to the family. This custom transfers the centre of interest from the society to the family concerned so that the contribution of the bridegroom towards the quota agreed upon by the parties by rendering service to the family of the bride is insisted upon or not according to the circumstances of the bride's family. Even if the contribution is temporarily or permanently excused, there exists an obligation which the bridegroom can never forget and this acts as an efficient bar to the dissolution of marriage. The question of repudiation of the debt has never arisen for, a Kuki whatever be his outlook so far as his dealings with the foreigners are concerned, will seldom dare try this experiment for it is deemed not only as unfair, uncanny and damaging to his self-respect but all the man in him revolts against such an abject denial. Cases are known when the debt could not be repaid by the man but the sanction of the society has been obtained to induce the natural heirs of the man to repay the debt and free themselves from the family obligation before they themselves could marry. In certain cases, the family obligation has been strengthened by more marriages between the respective families and this explains many of the forms of cousin marriages and marriages between different relations. It does not mean that cases of lapse or repudiation have not occurred but they are so few and far between that they do not affect the general attitude of the society towards this ideal.

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The customs of life-long comanionship without the wedding ceremony finds its parallel among certain pologynous tribes who live in the forest-clad plateau to the extreme south of the district of Mirzapur, United Provinces. This plateau is conterminous with that of the Chotanagpur plateau and the tribes inhabiting this culture zone are not very much dissimilar to those inhabiting the secure asylum of the Chotanagpur area. The Korwas, the Majhwars, the Kharwars, the Bhuiyas, the Cheros and the Biyars are some of the interesting tribal people of this area. Close association for a long time and the apparent similarity of culture between the tribes, though there are certain fundamental differences which are revealed by a deep insight into their respective cultures and the mal-adaptation of these tribes to the changed and changing environment brought about by cultural contact with the caste people on all sides who have begun to exploit these simple folk and the stringent forest laws which prohibit their free access to the interior of the forest for games or fruits and roots which provided them with the principal means of subsistence, have ushered into existence a state of fusion of cultures resulting in the formation of an interesting culture-complex.

It is indeed difficult to decipher the primitive and infantile from the mass of heterogenous elements of this interesting culture-complex, but the existing practices of these tribes have certain unique features about them which cannot be passed over without pointed reference. The Cheros have been

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practising for a long time a sort of companionship mating, which has obviated the necessity of the ceremonial aspect of marriage and society has not interfered with the assumed latitude in sex-relationship. The Cheros affirm the traditional nature of this practice and refuse to be dictated to by any social authority when the latter has tried to expose the impropriety of such a conduct in view of the repugnance felt by the Hindu castes of the neighbourhood who are *beau monde* to them. A Chero would mate with a woman of his choice and live with her in his or her house, provided the latter agrees and would not mind if they get children; he would not be debarred from any of the privileges of the society; on ceremonial occasions his position would remain unaffected by his family life and the children would suffer from no social stigma, so that his mode of life has the passive sanction of the society, though the ceremonial aspect of his companionate mating has been done away with. In some cases, however, it is customary for a man who has to marry his child, to pass through a form of marriage on the eve of the latter's marriage which bestows legitimacy on the child; but when tha marriage of the child takes place after the death of the father, this rite is not insisted upon and the fact of his companionship with the mother of the child is accepted as a form of legalised union.

The custom of 'intrusion marriage', prevalent among certain tribes of the Chotanagpur plateau,

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may be taken as a counterpart of the Kuki custom of marriage by service as in this particular case. There it is the woman who intrudes into the house of her lover, serves the family of the latter in a number of ways and by her service enlists the sympathy of the household and is allowed to remain as the lawful wife of the young man. Society here also remains passive and acknowledges this form of companionship, and the children of the mating are accorded the same rights as those of lawful wedding. This custom is rarely practised by the tribes in question as it involves uncommon sacrifice on the part of the woman. The hardship attending such undertakings can better be imagined than described. The girl proceeds to the house of her lover with pots full of rice-beer and any other presants she could carry and enters the courtyard of the house of her fiancee, where she is seldom welcome. As soon as the mistress of the house realises the object of the girl, she is terribly incensed and begins to call her by bad names that aboriginal vocabulary contains in plenty. The presents are thrown away and the girl is seriously taken to task for her conduct. At first the girl keeps silent but when the fulmination reach a certain limit the exasperated girl denounces the mother-in-law for her undue indulgence to her son which has brought about this state of things and point out that if the son had been properly looked after and controlled the could not have indulged in firtations and ruined her life. The scene turns into a brawl, and the

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neighbours pour into the courtyard to watch the scene. The mistress of the house cannot however continue for long in this strain, She is usually pacified by the neighbours and the girl is allowed to stay in the house. The period of probation is of course very trying for the poor girl, for she has to do all the duties of the house as a drudge and earn her livelihood by the sweat of her brow, so to say But her determination is rewarded in the long run by her succes in gaining the sympathy of the parents of the young man and winning their confidence. When the parents find her usefull, they allow the girl to remain in the house as their daughter-in-law.

From Morgan to Westermarck and from River to Malinowski we find the attempts of social scientists to explain the phenomena conected with marriage and all the associated customs and practices in the light of the data variously arrived at and yet we realise the uncertainty of our methods and the phenomenal ignorace of primitive conditions, social and psychological, which have rendered our knowledge about this institution crude, partial and refractory.

Even if we have not been able to prove anything regarding the origin of marriage or that of the customs and practices which constitute the ceremonial aspect of it, one fact has however been conclusively proved and that is that marriage and sexual possession of each other are two defferent issues and marriage is not the culmination of sex life between man and woman.

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Marriage is different from mating; marriage is considered to give social maturity to the man and is therefore highly desirable. In certain tribes the unmarried segregate into an association from which the privileges and the sanctity of tribal life are jealously guarded; in many tribes, the dormitory life is intended as a training pereiod for the virtues and responsibilities of tribal manhood which the married are only capable of attaining to, while the custom of providing the bachelors of the village with mats, clothes, *etc.*, by the maidens of the village shows the sympathy between the two complementary sections of tribal society who at some future date would enter into the bliss of married life and become the most important element of the society. Thus the desire for matrimony is stronger perhaps than the desire of sex relationship and as we pass from primitive to modern conditions, this desire has been hypertrophied to such an extent that it has manifested itself in a variety of customs and rites which conceal the sex urge in marriage though the latter appears in a number of associated folk customs which make it explicit. If, however, the desire for marriage is conceived with an associated desire for offspring, the absence of cases of divorce after children are born to the couple is easily explained. The birth of children if genuinely sought by the couple concerned, minimises the risks of family dissensions and reduces the insutability of sex relationship, for it has been

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found that the majority of the cases of divorce in savage society occur where the couple possess no children to cement the tie of companionship. The same is the case in advanced society. The Hindu idea of marriage as a means to the begetting of children without which man is thrown into the worst hell imaginable after death, is merely an attempt to subordinate the sex urge to the important practical ends. Prof. Malinowski has analysed the motives of marriage among the primitive tribes of the Trobriand Island and has shown that premarital sexual license has not stifled the desire for marriage any more than it has among other known tribes in India and elsewhere, and has brought into clear prominence the different urges that make for Trobriand marriage.

"That there is a clear and spontaneous desire for marriage and that there is a compulsory pressure toward it, are two separate facts about which there can be not the slightest doubt. For the first there are the unambiguous statements of individuals that they married because they liked the idea of a life-long bond to that particular person and for the second the expression of public opinion that certain people are well suited to each other and should therefore marry."

The conception of status in society which among most savages result from marriage, the economic utility of marriage, the inclination of man past his first youth to settle down and own

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a house and a household with all that it connotes, continuation of the line either to allow the just-departed ancestors to come back and be reborn in the family or to free the soul from eternal damnation,—these are some of the important reasons of marriage, primitive or advanced. If these considerations are all practicable without the institution of marriage, marriage is replaced by mating and thus the urge to marry is reduced to the vanishing point. Mating in order to be a permanent institution and to replace the ceremonial institution of marriage must be supported by public opinion, and the disabilities attendant on such a form of union, the most important being the stigma of illegitimacy on the children and the ban on social relationship, should be removed. The existence of permanent mating side by side with marriage in certain primitive societies of India and the latitude accorded by society to such unions indicate a stage of social formation where the purposes of marriage are regarded as adequately fulfilled by companionate marriage.

Absence of marriage does not indicate promiscuity any more than absence of any disease represents a virile constitution. If public opinion is the fundamental force that makes marriage highly desirable, mating also can subserve the selfsame purpose provided it is upheld by the same social force. If mating life has the sanction of the society, mating can certainly replace the ceremonial marriage, for even with the passive

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recognition of the usage, mating has come to stay in certain primitive societies. If, however, disintegration of the indigenous beliefs and practices of primitive tribes has been responsible for such an abnormal condition in the social life of some tribes, the very fact that it has not shown any sign of falling back into the promiscuous stage of sex-relationship is enough to justify its recognition as a form of relationship for social or societal selection. Societies are known where marriage, though a social function, is divorced of all customs and rites. In its simplest form which is found among many of the tribes which allow widow remarriage, marriage hardly differs from simple pairing or mating, so that if the latter is regarded as a proper form of wedlock, mating can also serve similar purposes. The duration of mating should be left in the hands of the persons concerned, for if there be nothing to make the union enduring, mere form and code of rules have not secured permanency of the union in primittive society. Nor is it true that the existence of the rules permitting divorces has meant frequent divorces, for societies which allow divorces on flimsy pretexts are pathological and have been perhaps swept off their feet by contact with dynamic cultures. The fact that mating among certain primitive tribes exists side by side with cermonial marriage and the custom of purchasing brides has become a normal and an abiding institution explains its social value in the estimation of such communities

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MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. A BAS'ALI FOLK-SONG.

Bās'uli, a variation of the goddess Chaṇḍī and a variant of the form *Bis'ālākshmī*, is generally known and worshipped in countryside places in India. The Bengali poet, Chaṇḍīdās, drew inspiration from her worship; the poem *Krishṇa-kīrtan* was composed to offer her *pūjā*. But it is not generally known that a peculiar goddess, called *Bās'ali*, represented with a horse's head, and sometimes as a horse altogether made of wood, is worshipped extensively in Orissa by the Keoṭs and allied tribes, and popularly known as *Ghoṛā-muhā Bās'ali*. I wrote a paper on the subject for the last Oriental Conference held at Patna, and a brief sketch of it was published in *Man in India*. A folk-song on *Bās'ali* has reached my hands, thanks to Sj. Sudhakar Pattanayak, a settlement officer in Bihar and Orissa, who found it in course of his tours through the villages of Cuttack and copied it *verbatim*. It is in the form of a question and an answer,—a traditional literary device. I have transcribed the Oṛiyā song into Roman characters, and prepared an English translation. These are now published for the readers of *Man in India*.

Question.

Shuṇa Shuṇa bhāire pacārai tote,
Kāṭha-ghoṛā goṭi tui aṇilu kemante,
Kemanta prakāra ghoṛā hoiloka jāta

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Kahi debu bhāi āre ethi ādi anta
Pūrbare kiey se thila tāhā mote kaha
Ashwaku gheṇiṇa bhāi sehi ṭhāre raha
Sadaguru koṭi guṇa dei achi tote
Ghoṛāra bicāraku ucāra kahi debu mote
Moha bola kara bhāi shabada ucāra
Aswinī Bāsoli māku koṭi namaskāra
Eteka ucāra kahi bāselī caraṇa
Kaibarta Dāsa rajā pashila sharaṇa
Acyutānanda ye ehā gītare gāile
Shrī Krushṇacaraṇartale sharaṇa pasile.

English translation.

Hear, brother, O hear, I ask you: how did you bring a wooden horse? In what manner was the wooden horse born? Brother, do please tell the beginning and the end in this. What was it in the beginning? Tell me that. Remain there, O brother, taking the horse (with you). The blessed master has given you a large number of gifts: please to tell me the details on the subject of the horse. Keep my request, brother, utter forth; millions of bows to mother Basoli in a mare's form. Saying this, the Dāsa King, of Kaibarta caste, took refuge in the feet of Basoli, and Acyutananda, who sang this in a song, took refuge in the feet of Sri Krishna.

Answer.

Shuṇa shuṇa bhāire shabadaṅka sāra
Tu mote pacārilu ghoṛāra ūcāra
Pūrva manu kalpare brahma loka swayĕ (?)
Cāri sahasra yuga tahī galā bohi
Bramhāra shayane cāri yuga dhari ghote

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Hasti shuṇda prāye kala ghora brushṭi
Sthala kūla buḍi jala ākāshe lāgilā
Chapanāye koṭi jeeva jantu jāta kala
Kshiti āpa teja bāyu ākāsha gagana
Virāṭa dehare yaī sehi hela janma (?)
Se virāṭa maṇdala ye mahākalpa vaṭa
Tahi dhyāna kale puṇi phiṭayi sankata
Ehi mati kete samvatsara tahiñ galā
Vaṭapatra goṭiye jalare paḍilā
Nirākāra purusha tāku nābakeli kāley
Nābakeli karante vaṭa ye putara
Lahaḍira ghāte puṇi kampilā sharīra
Kampamāna hoi karṇa sthāna āūsile
Kiraṇa vindu goṭie jale pakāyile
Se kiraṇa vinduru ye purusha janmilā
Pahañri uṭhiṇa vaṭaputaku dharilā
Vaṭā puṭa pūrva bhāge prabhu dele cāhin,
Vaṭā shrunga dhariṇa ye purushe achayī.
Prabhu pacārile kāhu ailu kisa tumbha nāma
Se boile tumbha binu na-jayiṇa āna,
Tumbhe mora mātā pitā vije vaṭaputa
Tumbhanku chinhili mūhi, kañhin nahiñ bheṭa
Shri Hari boile pūrve āmbharibhiāṇa
Kaibarta dāsa rāja he tora nāma
Se baṭaku Mahāprabhu dhyāna kale stuti
Patra ye goṭiye khasi paḍile tauti
Se patraku Mahāprabhu kari karṇiyāra
Dāsa rajāku basāile tāhāra upara.
Ehimati kete sambatsara tāhi galā
Bramhanishi pāyiṇa ye aruṇa uinla
Jāgrata hoiṇa Bramha netrare dekhilā
Karuṇya jala ye sehu sanguru schalilā
Virāta angaru se ye pavana ksharai
Chapanā ye koṭi jeeva janhu jāta hoi
Pūrve ye sansāra khela hela seimata
Kaivarta dāsa rajaku bujhāile tattwa

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Ehi vaṭa puṭa gheṇi siṇhāla dwipa yāa
Rajapaṇa basiṇa tahin pujā pāa.
Emanta tattwa bujhāi rajānku kahile
Kiye se kūlaku deva mane vicārile
Dahala paṇḍāla se ye pādanara hai
Sapata pātāla se ye phuṭi dishuāye
Emanta boliṇa vaṭaputaku cāhile
Turaṇga goṭiye jalu hulasi boile
Ājnā paramāṇe māi turanga hoilā
Lakshaka yojana yāye prushṭha bistārilā
Rajānku gheniṇa prabhu ashwara prusṭhare
Ashwa cāli dele se ye mana santoshare
Dahala pantāla ashwa vikrami lāsilā
Dariākūlare āsi ubha ye hoila
Se ashwaku dāsa rajā simhala dwīpa nelā
Kete sambatsara tāku vāhana ye kalā
Ehi ashwa gheṇi muhi karuachu nāṭa
Sehi mora sadaguru muhī tāra cāṭa
Sadaguru koṭiguṇa dei thile mote
Ghoṛāra vicāraku ucāra kahi delu tote.
Acyutānanda ye ehi geetare gāile
Sri Krishṇa caraṇa tale sharaṇa pasile.

Translation.

Listen, brother, listen to the sum of words: you asked me about horses. In the *Kalpa* of the first Manu, in the Brahma world even, four thousands of *yugas* passed away in that. Calculating four *yugas* to Brahma's lying down, there was a heavy downpour as from the trunk of an elephant. The water flooded the land and the coast and reached up to the sky, and produced 56 crores of animals. He was born who is great in size, who is earth, the waters, fire, air, space and the sky. In that great circle there is a *mahākalpa* bunyan tree, where if one meditates, all trouble

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is cleared up. In this way many round years passed by there; a bunyan leaf fell down into the water. The formless being sported with it in water, and while sporting, as the leaf was struck by the waves, tremor passed through the body. Trembling, the ear glistened, and a drop of *semane virile* was dropped into the water. The being that was born of that drop, dived and got up and took hold of the bunyan leaf. The *Prabhu* cast a look at the leaf in its front part; there was a being sticking to the protruded leaf.

The Prabhu asked: whence dost thou come, what is thy name? He said: "I do not know anything beside you. You are my mother and father, manifested in the bunyan leaf. I have known you, but cannot meet you anywhere." Sri Hari said,—"Formerly thou wert of our kneading; let thy name be Dasa, king of the Kaivartas." The Mahaprabhu meditated over that bunyan tree and praised it. He made an ear-ring of the leaf which dropped there and set thereon Dasa king. In this way many round years passed off; the night of the Brahma world was over; the bright dawn set in. Brahma woke up and saw with his eyes the sea of kindness which welled up from the connection, the breeze which sprang from the immense body and the 56 crores of animals which were born thereof. He explained to the Dasa king of Kaivarta caste how the sport of the world went on formerly: "Go to the island of Ceylon with this bunyan leaf, and sitting there in a royal fashion, receive worship there." Ex-

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plaining the way in this fashion he spoke to the king and thought over in his mind from what race he was sprung. Being at the basis of human society, he penetrated very deep and exposed the seven *pātāls* of basic strata. Saying this he glanced at the bunyan leaf, and a horse shoved up from the water. The horse was born according to instructions and spread his back over a lakh *yojans* (= 400000 miles). The *Prabhu*, taking up the king on the back of the horse, spurred the horse, in the delight of his heart. The horse, of a deep stock, pawed the ground in vigour and both the rider and the horse came to the side of the sea. The Dāsa king took that horse to the island of Ceylon and used it for his conveyance many a year round. With this horse I am making a (stage representation) show; this is my right preceptor and I am its servant. The right preceptor gave me a crore of qualities; "do you speak out in detail facts about the horse". Acyutananda spoke out this in a song and took refuge in the feet of Sri Krishna.

Priyaranjan Sen.

——:o:——

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II. SUN-WORSHIP IN BENGALI NURSERY-RHYMES.

There are many little acts which are performed by the people of Europe in the course of their daily lives, which are nothing but symbolical methods of worshipping the Sun-god, which methods are resorted to by the performers thereof without their knowing their purpose. Take, for instance, the European practice of passing the bottle at table from right to left, which is nothing but passing it in the direction of the Sun's course. This is but a survival of the universal custom of worshipping the Sun-god. Then again the Irish peasant crawls three times round the healing spring from east to west, imitating the Sun's course. The crank of the butter-churn must be turned in the same direction, i. e. "with the Sun." In the same way eggs are beaten and mixtures are stirred in imitation of the circuit of the Sun. The persons who perform these little acts of household life do not know that they are thereby worshipping the Sun which is the source of light and vivifying influences and whose worship is universal throughout the world. [1]

Sun-worship still survives even in the nursery-rhymes of many peoples. For instance, there are current in Lower Bengal, several nursery rhymes which are chanted by little

[1] For a fuller discussion of this subject see "An Introduction to Folk-lore" by M. R. Cox. London, David Nutt, 1897. P. 20.

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children on foggy or cloudy mornings without knowing that they are thereby praying to the Sun-god and imploring him to come out of the sky and shine upon the earth below, as they are very much in need of the Sun's vivifying influences.

Take, for instance, the nursery-rhyme No. 52 of Sarkār's collection [2] and see how the Moon is represented therein as going to the Sun's place describing to the latter the miseries from which men and beast of the mundane world are suffering for want of sunshine, and, therefore, imploring him to come out of the sky and shine upon the earth below. The whole matter is vividly set forth in a supposed conversation between the two luminaries:—

1, 2 and 3. * * * *

4. The Moon went to the Sun's place.

5. The Sun gave him a wooden seat to sit upon.

6. 7. 8. 9. 10. and 11. (Thereafter, addressing the Sun, the Moon said:) '(O Sun! I) shall not sit upon the wooden seat, [as] the men [of earth below] are dying for want of food [which scarcity is due to the fact that the food-crops are not growing for want of sunshine], and the cattle are dying for want of grass [as grass is not growing for want of sunshine]. [I] have, therefore, come to your place [and implore you most earnestly] to shine most brilliantly upon the earth below from to-morrow. Do be good enough to accede to my request."

[2] *Khukumanir Chhara* by Jogindra nath Sarkar, 6th Edition, Calcutta. The City Book Society, No. 64, College street, 1426 B.S.

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Again, in nursery-rhyme No. 324 of the collection, the following prayer is addressed to the Sun-god :—

1. "O Sun-god! shine [upon the earth].
2. Shine upon the forest of planting trees."
3. (The Sun-god having acceded to the above prayer and shone upon the forest of plantain trees), the bunches of plantains ripened (from the influence of the Sun's rays).
4. "O Sun-god! [by way of thanksgiving for this boon confered by thee upon mankind], [I shall endow] an umbrella to be ereated over thy head."

Then again, in nursery-rhyme No. 216 of Sarkar's collection, the Sun-god is addressed as a 'maternal uncle,' and the following prayer is made to him. :—

"1. O maternal uncle Sun! O maternal uncle Sun! shine [upon the earth].

"2. and 3. Thy mother-in-law has asked thee to slice the brinjals (for cooking purposes). (Accordingly), the Sun sliced the brinjals. (But the pity of it is that) his wife is a flat-nosed lady.

"4. and 5. (O maternal uncle Sun!) place thy hands upon the big granary, place thy feet upon the small granary, and come shining forth brilliantly."

Sarat Chandra Mitra. M. A., B. L.

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III. NOTE ON ANOTHER RECENT INSTANCE OF THE KHASI CUSTOM OF OFFERING HUMAN SECRIFICE TO THE SNAKE-DEITY THLEN.

In my article entitled "*On a Recent Instance of the Khasi custom of offering human sacrifices to the Snake-Deity*," which has been published in the *Joural of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII.* Pp. 192—198., I have given an account of the Khasi custom of offering human sacrifices to their Snake-deity Thlen, as also of an instance of such human sacrifice, which took place fn the neighbourhood of Shillong, the capital of the province of Assam, in 1924.

Recently (May 1929) another instance of human sacrifice to this dreadful deity Thlen has taken place in the same nighbourhood.

It is reported that on the 19th May 1929, a Khasi residing in the village named Smit, near Shillong, was found missing from his house. His wife lodged information with the Police about this incident. Notwithstanding their best efforts the Police failed to trace out the missing man's whereabouts. Nearly a month afterwards it was reported to the police that his dead body had been found in a dense pine-forest, situated at a distance of one mile from the village of Smit. During the course of the investigation that followed, the police came to know that the man had been murdered by way of human sacrifice to the Snake-deity Thlen. The matter was made

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over to the C. I. D., which took up the enquiry aforesh and, as the result thereof, arrested the the murderers, who were sent up for trial. In the course of this trial, the prevalence of this horrible custom of human sacrifice among the Khasis has been brought to light anew and several new facts of ethnographical importance have been discovered. * In this paper I shall record these new facts, which are as follow:—

1. After the victim has been killed by the blow of a wooden club or of a stone boulder, and his body has been thrown down on the ground, his nose is slit up weth a pair of *'Silver Knives'* and the blood gushing from the wound is caught in a bamboo-tube.

2. Then his hair and the tips of his fingers are cut off with a pair of *'Silver Scissors'* and carried off by the murderers.

3. After these offerings of the human victim's hair and finger-tips have been collected, preparations for the worship of the deity Thlen are made.

4, The deity assuming the shape of a thread is believed to reside in a small wooden box *(Kouṭā)*, which is kept in the Thlen-worshipper's house.

5. The *modus operandi* of the worship is that the wooden box is taken to the largest room in the worshipper's house, the lid is taken off, and the open box is placed on a valuable

* For a fuller account of this second case *vide* the article (in Bengali) entitled *"Human-Secrifice in the Khasia Hill,"* which has been published in the *Bengali* monthly magazine named *"Bichitra"* for the month of *BHADRA* (August-September) 1336 B. S. (1929-30 A.D), Pages 392-94.

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cloth, which is spread out for the purpose and the offerings of blood, hair and finger-tips are kept before it.

6. The Khasi believes that the victim's soul, assuming the shape of his corporeal body, takes his seat on the metal platter in which the victim's blood is offered up.

7. Thereafter Thlen devours this victim's body and then again assuming his thread-like apperance enters the wooden box, which is then closed up by the worshippers and kept in a secret place.

The Khasias believe that every year three or four such ritual murders take place. But they so much fear the members of the several families, who still keep up this dreadful worship, that they do not venture to lodge information with the police about these murders. In the course of the trial of this second case Mr. Mackenzie has recorded the following opinion, which will bear testimony to the great terror which prevents the Khasi from informing the police :— "The Thlen superstition inspires such a feeling of terror in its believers that evidence was very difficult to collect and it was not until the accused were arrested that people could speak with any assurance of safety".

(a) I have already shown in my previous papers that the reason why the victim is killed with a *wooden club* and not with an iron weapon appears to be that this worship appears to have orginated among the Khasis while they were living in the Stone Age.

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(b) The next noteworthy feature of this human sacrifice is that the victim's nose is slit with *'Silver-Knives'* and that his hair and finger-tips are cut off with a pair of *Silver-Scissors.* The question arises—why *Silver instruments* are used for this purpose ? part of the ritual would appear to have originated among the Khasis while they were living in the Age of Metals and after they had discovered the uses of silver as a valuable metal.

(c) The offering of hair is noteworthy because a man's vitality or strength is believed to in his hair. Samson's vitality lay in his hair and he was deprived of his vitality by Dalilah by cutting off his hair. Other instances of this belief are numerous in folklore.

(d) The blood contains the man's soul. Instances of this belief are also numerous in the folklore of many races. It is for this reason that the Khasis believe that on the platter containing the victim's blood, the victim's soul assuming the shape of his corporeal body takes his seat.

Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A. B. L,

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IV. NOTE ON A RITE FOR PROPITIATING THE TIGER-DEITY IN THE DISTRICT OF MYMENSINGH IN EASTERN BENGAL.

Kārttika, the Indian god of war is worshipped by the Hindus of Bengal on the last day of the Bengali month of Kārttika, which corresponds to October-November of the Christian era. In the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, it is customary for the women-folk to sing songs of various kinds all through the night the day on which the god Kārttika is worshipped. Among these songs sre hymns chanted in propitiation of the Tiger-deity. The nature of these propitiatory songs will best appear from the following specimen which is published and translated below :—

Text in Devnāgari Script.

१। बाघा कान्देरे, बाघुनीर लागीया, बाघा कान्दे रे।
२। बाघा बुले बाघुनी एइ ना पथे याइओ।
३। नवीनेर गरु देखाछेलाम जानाइओ॥

English Translation.

1. The tiger weeps at his sepaation from his mate—the tigress; the tiger weeps.

2 and 3. The tiger says, to the tigress :— Don't go this way. Know that I have seen Nobin's cattle [going this way]. Pay my compliments to them."

For the name Nobin, the names Hāru, Rāmnāth or of any other member of the household of which the women are celebrating the *Kārttika puja* festival are substituted. It is popularly

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believed that, if these names are not mentioned in the song, the Tiger-deity will get offended with him or them and kill his or their cattle. *

Now the question arises: Why is this propiatory hymn in adoration of the Tiger-deity chanted on the night of the day following the *Kārttika puja* festival? The answer to this question is not far to seek. It appears that the cold weather sets in by the end of the Bengali month of Kārttika (Oct.-Nov.), and wild beasts of prey find it very suitable for committing their depredations upon men and cattle on dark and cold nights. It further appears to me that, in ancient times the district of Mymenshingh was full of forests and jungles which were haunted by large numbers of ferocious tigers which committed terrible havoc upon the people and their live-stock. The inhabitants of Mymensingh were terror-stricken at those depredations; and so they set about to devise some means whereby they could propitiate the wrath of the Tiger-deity and put a cheek to his depredations. I am inclined to think that they at last decided to preform some rite or ceremony in propitiation of the Tiger-deity. This rite or ceremony appears to have been performed by the people towards the close of the Bengali month of *Kārttika* when the weather began to be cold.

* *Vide* the article entitled "*Mymenshingher Meyeli Sangit*" (or "the women's songs of Mymensingh)," published in the *Pravasi* for *Magh* 1330 B.S. (Jan-Feb. 1914), Pp—483.

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The aforementioned propitiatory song appears to have been chanted at the time of offering worship to the Tiger-Deity.

In course of time, the performance of the rite of worshipping the Tiger-deity fell into desuetude. But the practice of chanting the propitiatory hymns in adoration of the Tiger-deity has continued to exist; and consequently the aforementioned folk-songs have survived to this day.

The women-folk of Mymensingh kill two birds with one stone by taking advantage of the night of the *Kārttika puja* day for chanting these propitiatory hymns. Thereby they not only keep vigil during that night but they also chant prayers to the Tiger-deity, appealing to him not to commit depredations upon their live-stock.

I have already shown elsewhere * that the people of the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal believed in the existeance of a Tiger-deity named Bāghāi and do *puja* to him for putting a check to his depredations.

* Vide my paper "On the Vestiges of Tiger-Worship in the District of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* Vol. XI, P—599.

Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A. B.L

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V. CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FISH IN BENGAL.

With reference to a long and informative article contributed by Mr. Tarak Nath Das in *Man in India* (Vol. XI. p. 275—303) on "*Cultural Significance of Fish in Bengal*" I should like to draw the attention of the readers of this journal to a few points.

Hindu Scriptures generally seem to condemn the use of fish and meat as food though their use at least on certain occasions was not only sanctioned but was highly popular from a very early period. A good many texts are definite on the point. [1]

Even Bengal where the use of fish and meat is almost universal is not entirely free from this feeling. Thus there are taboos and restrictions with regard to this use such as the following :—

(1) The use of particular fishes e. g. *s'ingi*, *gajāl* etc. is forbidden among the higher classes. (2) The use of fish and meat food on particular days (like the eleventh, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the fortnight, Sundays, and some specially sacred days) is tabooed. (3) There is a taboo against the taking of any kind of fish and meat by certain classes of people, e. g., widows [2], children less than eighteen months old, followers of Vaiṣṇa-

[1] Writers on *Smirti* in Bengal have found it a hard task to find scriptural sanction for the use of fish.

[2] The use of fish by women whose husbands are living is a rule specially on forbidden days. But they do not as a rule take meat.

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vism, people in mourning, people in whose house there has been a case of small pox, chicken pox or measles, and people who are engaged in the performance of certain religious rites even in connection with deities other than Viṣṇu.

It is true that these taboos are no longer found to be obeyed universally but they are almost strictly observed in more orthodox circles.

There is also another side of the question. The *Tantra* branch of Hindu scriptures that deals with the worship of female deities *(S'aktis)* is found to advocate very staunchly the ritualistic use of fish and meat. As a matter of fact, some of the rites enjoined therein cannot be performed without fish which is regarded as an essential object of worship. It may be due to this attitude of the Tantras that there are found some people, presumably followers of Tantricism, who would not accept an absolute vegetable diet.

In some of the popular rites also fish occupies a very important position. In marriage rites fish is absolutely necessary—it is on a living pair of fishes that the seat of the bride and bridegroom is laid in some districts. Young fishlings, just come out of eggs, are burnt along with other objects on the last day of the month of Kārtik in the course of a ceremony called *Būhl Uṛānī*[1] in certain districts of Eastern Bengal. Fish water is believed to possess magical powers and it is used in magical rites intended to drive away evil spirits, etc.

Chintaharan Chakravarty, M. A.

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[1] For a description of other details of the rite *cf. Man in India* (1923—p. 92 ff).

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INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* for January to June, 1932, Major D. H. Gordon describes "Some Terra-Cottas from Sari Deri, North-West Frontier Province." These terra-cottas are roughly classed as human, animal and miscellaneous. The male human figures are primitive heads and torsos and "classic" heads and their derivatives, besides two spade-shaped and fragile cult figures. Among primitive female figures found at Sari Dheri are crude representations of the Mother Goddes, for which the author suggests a tentative period between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. In one of the figures the large pierced ears, the head-dress, the face and the technique are said to be identical with those of a figure from Bhilsa classed as Kushāṇa. Then there are two other busts of the Mother-Goddess with a flat oval head-dress at the back and a long thick pigtail censidered to belong to a totaly different class. They are of a very superior style and technique. These Major Gordon opines, are of Greek workmanship. He suggests that the best unadorned Greek busts are the earliest, though it is possible that the oldest of the primitives may date from much the same time. "The most crude or degenerate type show points of contact with primitives". But, according to Major Gordon, though very exciting and archaic in appearance they are neither

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'Sumerian' nor, indeed, of any great antiquity. The animal figures are found in great numbers, mostly broken. Major Godon secured in tact figures of the Horse (unicorn?) Deer, Camel, Ox and Leopard, and imperfect specimens of an elephant and a garlanded ox. "The arched necked horse, which is also found at Bhita, is common throughout Western Asia from quite early times. These figures may be dated just pre-Kushan, early first century A. D." Besides these there are small terra-colta toy-brids, two rams' heads as pot-handles—one of black pottery, five black stone weights of the type called "spindle-whorls", a black clay shampoo-scraper such as is portrayed among the very earliest of the finds from Bhita, two small crude jars. The point of greatest interest connected with these terra-cottas is the strong likeness that many of them bear to types unearthed at Bhita and Basarh in the Province of Bihār. Taken as a whole, the features of the heads and busts from Bhita, with coarse and unrefined features, thick lips, broad noses and protruding chins, "compare unfavourably with the best products of Sari Dheri." "With the types from Basarh, however, a much closer parallel can be drawn." Major Godon thinks that "the solution of the terra-cottas at Basarh with the refined features of western technique lies in Græco-Baktrian influence penetrating certainly as far as Oudh and probably further at the time of Menander (c. 140 B. C.) appears to fit the probabilities".

In *Folk-lore* for March, 1932, Mr. R. E. Enthoven contributes a paper on "*Limes, Rice-*

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Straw and Convolvulus in Indian Primitive Practice". The Limes are generally known to be commonly used as a courtesy gift in South India. Instances are cited in this paper, of practices indicating the use of limes in driving away illness or evil influences. But especial notice is taken of another rite known in Bombay as *muth mārane* in which a lime charmed, by piercing it with a number of thorns and placing it before an image of wheat flower and repeating incantations over it is used to put an enemy to death by its magic power. A recently described use of lime is in connection with the *devaks* or marriage guardians of Konkan in the Bombay Presidency.

With regard to rice-straw, Mr. Enthoven refers to the practice known as "*durahi*" or "*pardhi*", in which rice-straw is tied by a man of the 'untouchable' Mahar caste to the lower and upper ends of a mango-tree, and also to the arms of the parties to a dispute by way of imposing a prohibition against either party to remove it pending a decision of the dispute regarding ownership of property from the village deity, (but now often by law courts) granting a sign known as a 'Kaula' when approached by the prescribed 'Kaula' method.

With regard to the Convolvulus, it is a common *devak* among the Mali, Taru, Kumbhar, Dher and Chambhar castes of the Bombay Presidency. The function of the 'Devak' is similar to that of a 'totem'. A recent writer in an Indian Journal has opined that 'devaks' are worshipped

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not as 'totems' but as receptacles of the holy *shakti* or power of the god Shiva in its various manifestations. Mr. Enthoven suggests that it is a pre-Hindu ceremony.

In *Man*, 1932, Mr. A. Aiyappan controverts Mr. K. M. Pannikar's assertion in J. R. A. I. Vol. X to VI that the only type of polyandry to be found among the Nayars is of the fraternal variety and that Mc Lennan erred in giving the *Nāyar* name to a particular type of polyandry supposed by him to be practised universally among the Nayars. Although Nayar polyandry is now an obsolete institution, Mr. Aiyaphan shows from traditional and recorded evidence besides certain existing social reputations that what has been termed "Nayār polyandry" was at one time the prevalent form in vogue among the Nayars.

In *Man* for April, 1932, Mr. L. D. Cammiade describes a *Primitive Oil-extractor from the Godavary District*, in use among the *Kois*, a Dravidian hill tribe. The chief point of ethnological interest about it is the use of the double lever, one lever at the end of another to develop a greater force out of a lesser.

In *Man* for May, 1932, Mr. C. J. Bonington, describes *Ossuary Practices in the Nicobars*, with particular reference to the practice of keeping the skull of an ancestor on or in a life-size wooden body on the islands of Teressa and Bompoka. The nearest parallels geographically to the practices of keeping the skull of an ancestor in a life-size wooden body are to be found in the Naga Hills and in Melanesia.

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In *Man* for July, 1932, Prof. J. Mogenstierne contributes a note on "The Kafirs of Hindu Kush", about whom very little was known, and among whom Prof. Mogenstierne was sent out by the Oslo Institute for comparative Research in Human Culture in 1924 and 1929, to study them. The Kafirs live in high, isolated valleys between the Kabul valley and the Hindu Kush. They are divided into several tribes. More or less 'Nordic' Type occur but also Alpines, and among the Kalashes, Australoid types. The Kalashes, however, speek a language which belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Iranian group, but the other Kafir languages are neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan but form a third branch of Indo-Iranian, influenced since time immemorial from India. Some of the Kafirgods, e. g. the War God, are connected with Vedic deities. 'Linguistic evidence shows that the Kafirs must have separated from the rest of the Aryans at a very early date, and inhabited their mountain-valleys for thousands of year.

Man for September, 1932, contains an abstract of the Proceedings of International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences in which unfortunately India was very meagerly represented. Dr. G. R. Hunter described certain *Rock paintings from Indian cave-shelters* in the Mahadeo Hills, Central Provinces, Dr. E. H. Hunt described some *Megalithic Burials in the Deccan* (Hyderabad State), Mr. H. Balfour reported *On some pottery from Rajgir* (Hyderabad) discovered by Dr.

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E. H. Hunt; and Mr. H. C. Beck described *Beads from Indian Megalithic Burials.*

In the *Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society*, for 1931, Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes papers "On a Panjabi Nursery Story and its Bengali Parallel", "A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur", "On a Birhor Folktale of the Wicked Queen type", and "Notes on a few Village Deities of the Faridpur District in Eastern Bengal". Mr. S. C. Mehta contributes a paper on "Folktale about Jagannath as connected with a Turtle and a Crow", and Dr. Sir J. J. Modi contributes "A Note on the Mating Seasons among Man".

In the same Journal fort 1932, Mr. Satindra Narayan Roy contributes a paper on "The Early Temples of Orissa", Mr. P. Masani gives a *Survey of the Work of the Bombay Anthropological Society*, Mr. K. A. Padhye, contributes a paper (in two parts) on "Aspects of Anthropological Interest in Buddhistic Librature", Mr. K. M. Munshi writes on a *Parsi Martyr of Broach*, and Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes "A Note on the Prevalence of Human Sacrifice in Ancient Orissa", "A Note on a Recent Instance of the Kolarian Folk-Belief about the Magical efficacy of the spoken word for exorcising Evil Spirits", and "Further Notes on the Kolarian belief about the Neolithic Celts".

In the *Journal of the University of Bombay* for July, 1932, Mrs. Irawati Karve writes on *The Pars'urāma Myth* and Mr. R. Pratapagiri writes on the *Nature ond Sphere of the Ancient Indian State.*

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June, 1932, Dr. Pran Nath continues his article on *"The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals".*

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Sociology.—*By Ernest R. Groves. (Lippincott, London 1931). Pp. 160. Price 4s. 6d. net.*

Simple but lucid in its exposition of the principles and methods of the science, sound and sane in its view and helpful in its suggestions, this is one of the best elementary handbooks of sociology that we have come across. It is not only the beginner in the social sciences who will profit by a study of the book, but it will furnish points to the advanced student and the practical social worker, the legislator and the politician. The book is divided into six chapters, headed respectively—"What is Sociology?" "How Sociology gets its facts", "Man's Social Life", "Culture, Product of Social Experience", "Sociology and Social Problems", "Social Progress".

In the opening chapter the meaning of society and the scope of Sociology is thus fairly well expressed by the author:—"Society is merely a term which stands for the experiences that come when people live together, but it is a necessary generalization that includes all inter-relations or responses of one person to another, and all the values that come out of human association"..... Sociology helps to uncover its significance for man by showing the opportunity provided by social relationships for the increase of human welfare and security. Human happiness can be greatly increased by skill in using the opportunities furnished by social experience. As the investigation

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of physical facts is a refinement of man's universal effort to control the physical resources, social science is a refinement of his effort to control the resources brought forth by social contact. The significance of sociology, as Professor Groves points out, is to show the opportunity provided by social relationship for the increase of human welfare, happiness and security, by skill in using opportunities provided by social contact.

After giving, in the earlier chapters, a clear non-technical and popular account of the principal contents of the science of sociology and the methods by which the sociologist investigates social phenomena or phenomena resulting from human group-association and interprets them so as to obtain causal explanations, the author proceeds in the later chapters to indicate how Sociology assists social work not only by describing the various social problems and diaognising the particular form of social mal-adjustments to which particular social evils may be attributed, but also by helping the increase of human happiness by building up a preventive programme. He points out that although the sociologist is chiefly interested in the programme of prevention, he is not looking about for some 'cure-all'. "Instead, his program calls for several innovations. He is more concerned with greater wholesomeness in social life than in the futile endeavour to fix upon a combination of circumstances the full responsibility for a definite social evil". Sociology is rightly characterised by our author as a "challenging Science". Wherever there is human suffering, resulting from social

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maladjustment, there the science enters the practical affairs of man. Without waiting for an objective demonstration of the possibilities of progress, it goes to work to make the good life easier through a wiser use of present resources. Social evils are rightly attributed by Prof. Groves to either the selfish use of reasources by those who have obtained great power, or to the inability to discover true values by those who have not had the opportunities of training or who have failed to respond to the education that has been offered them. The author advocates a more practical education in ethics, government and family life as the proper means for advancing social welfare. He rightly points out. "When selfishness is rampant, the hope of progress lies in changing the atmosphere of society from one that is stimulating aggressive acquisitiveness to one which brings forth a humane co-operative public opinion".

We heartily recommend this little book to students and teachers, administrators and politicians, social workers and the educated public in general.

Meet the Japanese.—*By Harry Albert Phillips. (Lippincott, Philadelphia London, 1932). Pp. 319, Price 15 S. net*

This handsomely got-up, beautifully illustrated, and well written volume stands far above the

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average book of travels. In fact, "The Magic of Far Places" series to which this book belongs, would appear to constitute a newer and higher type of books of travels. They may very well serve as useful introductions to those undertaking systematic sociological and anthropological work amongst the peoples dealt with in this series. Mr. Phillips' travels in different parts of Japan, its civic and commercial centres, religious centres and rural places, was obviously undertaken and conducted not in the spirit of a diletant but of a serious student of men and manners. He met the Japanese, as he says, "in their own Japan outside the circumscribed paths and hotels and shops designed for *tourists* only". His book is no mean contribution to the study of the life and culture of the Japanese people. Reference is not omitted to the historical and environmental factors that have helped to make that culture what it is.

Although the author does not in the manner of an orthodox anthropologist attempt a systematic investigation and detailed description of the economic, social, moral, intellectual and æsthetic life of the people and its environmental and historical back-ground, his non-technical and travel-book account, however, gives the reader a real insight into the manners and customs, feelings and mentality, ways and views of life of the people. In this book we not only "meet" "Smiling Japan", but from the author's account we can comprehend something of what lies behind that "perpetual smile and good nature" of the Japanese. The author has carefully studied

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Japanese life in the homes and temples, in the gardens and inns, in the public theatres and public baths, in social functions and public entertainments, in the school and in the prison-house, at work and at play. And, as a result of intimate acquaintance, he has given us a most life-like and illuminating account. Space forbids us to give an abstract of the wealth of information and description and reflactions contained in this volume. We shall therefore only content ourselves by making a few select quotations as samples of the author's impressions of Japan and the Japanese.

The first thing that impresses the author is the intense spiritual bent of Japanese culture. He writes :— "A Japanese's religion is so woven into the fibre of his flesh and the fabric of his soul and the phantasies of his mind that it has become antomatically an integral part of himself and and his Old Japan world". "Superstition rampant, patriotism willing to make the extreme sacrifice, sacred tea ceremony, consecration of arts, crafts and even labor projects to the gods, shrines and tutelary deities set up in theatres and movie houses, in wrestling arenas, in departmental stores, in brothels, pleasures, festivals and even orgies in the name and at the expense of the gods; great shrines and temples erected to the gods of War, of Business, of Mercy of Suicides, of the Seven Gods of Luck. And finally, religion seems to bring no gloom to the Japanese; they smile as they pray". "Old Japan with all that it has stood for still remains picturesequely intrenched

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for the most part in homes, theatres, shops, in modes of bathing, eating, sleeping, living and dying—and above all in the spiritual phenomena just the same as it has for centuries".

The next prominent characteristic is the Japanese's love of Nature, which may be said to be another aspect of his intensely spiritual temperament. "Even today we find them perfectly attuned to nature, the whole seventy millions of them, in season, becoming one with the bursting buds, giving the silent flowers the human key-note of the glad heart, viewing the distant moon and fondling it with their fancy, harnessing the fireflies and the crickets to make play-fellows of them, writing poems and sending them forth as vagrant messages attached to the branches of flowering trees for kindred souls to appreciate". "Japan is only of the occident in external, material and mechanical things. Internally—that is mentally, emotionally, philosophically, æsthetically and *religiously*— she remains unmistakeably oriental". "Japan has always translated this intense spiritual entity into terms of every-day life through an endless procession of active symbols always to be found half-concealed somewhere beneath the surface of even the most modern engines, structures and institutions. They are the real *dei ex machina*".

The Japanese's other qualities and defects are conditioned by his spiritual nature. "The real stamina of the Japanese people lies in their spiritual make-up and practice, out of which they have woven a splendid code and cult of the living—and dying. Not until the foreign Western civilizations, culture

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and "progress" have undermined and broken through the fine fabric of this old-age pagan casing of philosophy and morality, can the limitation of the forward march of Japan be said to be reached". "Beneath their delicacy is an intangible backbone of something akin to flexible steel that resists rude or impious treatment, having withstood the very wrath of God through his handmaid, Nature, that has ever failed to break their invisible Shinto spirit of steel.

Another most noticeable feature of the Japanese is their love of economy—in matters material as well as spiritual or emotional. "The Japanese are gifted with a delicate and modest esthetic sense. Their sensitiveness to the beauties of nature touches sublimity in its simplicity, not in its extravagance. There is never excess, always economy. Economy is the watchword of Japan. It is the secret of her existence, the secret of her strength, the secret of her Art. Their first maxim is, 'There is no room for waste'. They waste neither emotions, nor materials". "This Oriental predilection for affairs of the inner soul and spirit, however, is an estheticism fraught with asceticism—which differentiates the Japanese in art from all other Oriental peoples. Thus at one stroke, Japan becomes the greatest of artists and the most artificial of peoples. For, pure art demands and commands discipline and repression at the source. Emotional preferences or prejudices within, sooner or later leads to degeneration. The Japanese artist

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is sure to be detached, impersonal, divorced from his subject matter".

The Japanese are, above all, a happy people. Our author writes,— "The Japanese live an amply happy life. Once a year there is a grand Poetry contest in which the whole nation joins; all become poetasters from *maiko* to Mikado". "The Japanese home is like a sonnet, thousands of them all alike in seeming, in form, no two alike in spirit. Great artistic forethought in the selection of materials; clean, unknotted *hinoki*, exquisite lacquer. They too are cold poems—*Kakemono-tokomono*, vase for Flower Arrangement, economy, no useless repetition or reiteration. An almost empty canvas to be mentally completed according to the concept of the guest". "And so in pictures—decorative economy; a branch of bamboo, a single stork among reeds, a butterfly or a grass-hopper on a spray of cherry-blossoms". The workaday life of country side, shop and handicraftsman is fraught and wrought with the same spirit of poetry". "These people are poetry".

But one thing which they lack most is individuality. Mr. Phillips says,—"There is practically no such thing as outstanding individualism in Japan". His explanation of this phenomena is as follows:—

"In Shinto the family is the real social unit,—the basis of all society. While the father is the patriarch, leader and despot of the Family, each member is interdependent and subject to an iron-clad etiquette of service and sacrifice that includes

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death. Absolute independence of thought or action was not possible. Furthermore, the Family (and each and every one of its several units) was subject to the larger group in which it was contained, the Community owe undivided allegiance to the divinely-descended Mikado. Even the Mikado was an agent of the gods and his personality was almost erased by an etiquette that admitted of no individual or independent action. For Japanese etiquette works both ways through all grades of society, backwards and forwards; each owes to the one below him some receiprocal formal and informal treatment, as well as the one above. One was inextricably a molecule in the mass, a cog in the wheel. The whole was bound together by a fierce and fiery centripetal force—Loyalty". "Another reason why they lack individuality is that all people and all things are but symbols, which means that they are automatic without being demonstrative".

The author ends with a note of apprehension and warning. New Japan that has inherited all those antique but not altogether antiquated virtues which might still serve in moderation—is courting great danger to her sterling self by embarking solely on a Westward career of *material progress*. She is eagerly appropriating everything that furthers that end; and that which does not do so is ignored or rejected". "It is through the points of most continuous and heaviest contacts that Western vices are seeping in, often far beyond the coast-line". "It seems to me such a pity, this prospect of destroying old Japanese culture with

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our ponderous machines and drills, to break through the countless coats of matchless lacquer that have taken so many centuries to enlay..... It is written in the stars that they will lose this precious heritage on that day when they have found and replaced their own with this passionately desired *machine soul*".

The author's account of Japan and the life and mentality, customs and manners of the Japanese appear to bear out the truth of his statement. "The visible Japanese nation is being rapidly occidentalized, but the invisible Japanese people are still safely oriental. They are accepting the modern civilization but in the main retaining their ancient culture".

The Caste System of North India, with special reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.—*By E. A. H. Blunt, C. I. E., O. B. E., I. C. S. (Humphrey Milford. 1931). Pp. IX+374. Price 15 S. net.*

The object of this volume, as the author tells us in his Preface, is to supply the want of a book which gives "a full and connected account of caste as a system, which describes the factors which brought caste into existence, the evolution of the present system, the nature of the customs common to all castes, the principles which underlie those customs, and the reasons for similarity

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on difference between caste and caste". The Indian Caste-system, Mr. Blunt rightly says, was not the artificial product of a man or a body of men working consciously to that end. It was the result of a process of evolution, which under the influence of its environment, has continued unceasingly up to the present day. That process may be summarised as follows as much as possible in the words of the author himself:—

The Aryans, when they entered India, were already divided into three social classes, of which the first two, the ruling or military class and the priestly class, were already regarded as superior to the third or Aryan commonalty, *(Vis')*. The first two, in time, came to be known respectively as *Kshatriya* and *Brāhman*. The priesthood in the Vedic period was a profession to which recruits from other classes were admitted, and was subordinate to the Kshatriya or ruling class.

As the Aryan invaders brought few women with them into India, they had to seek wives from the aboriginal inhabitants. As intermarriage with a primitive race was naturally distasteful, it ceased "as soon as enough women had been bred to supply the needs of the community, but as their branches pushed further into the country, it recommenced, until there were many groups of various degrees of mixed blood, all strongly averse to further intermarriage". So arose the four 'Varnas' or colours, the first three called *Brāmhan, Kshatriya, Vais'ya*, after the then existing social classes, and the fourth called *S'ūdra*,

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"a term of uncertain meaning, possibly the name of some Dasyu tribe". "Concurrently with the mixture of blood, there had been a mixture of religions: a number of cults, practices, and deities derived from the primitive animism of the Dasyus were imported into the Aryan nature-worship". The Bramhan "had to compromise with worshippers whom he served". However, "by dint of metaphysic, he had transformed the old Vedic religion, with its personal gods, into a new pantheism with no deity but a hypostalized abstraction called Brahma—a cold and colourless being that had no appeal for a warm-hearted people, used to worshipping warm-hearted gods".

The progress of civilization introduced the following among other changes in the Vedic social system: (1) "The tendency to endogamy caused by the amalgamation of two races of different blood had sensibly weakened with the passage of time", and there were numerous instances of mixed marriages.—(2) "Trade and industry became organized into a number of guilds or corporations of persons following the same occupation" which in time secured for themselves important privileges and established the principle of hereditary function. (3) "Long before the end of this period, the Bramhanical order, whose original function had been confined to the expert knowledge and performance of religious ritual, had acquired a monopoly of all important branches of learning. They had become the theologians, the philosophers, the physicians, the lawyers and judges of the

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age—possibly also its artists and its engineers". Not only so but in time "the Brahmans became the age's statesmen, capable of making and unmaking dynasties". "The relations between the Khshatriyas and the Bramhans became gradually embittered, but the former could not do without the latter". "The later pantheistic doctrines never became popular, and various religions arose, which drew away many of the Bramhan's former adherents. In most cases, the priesthood were able to defeat opposition by importing the new cults into their own religions system; but one of those, Buddhism, proved an irreconcible antagonuist". "A struggle for spiritual supremacy began between Buddhist monk and Bramhan priest which lasted, with varying fortunes, for ten centuries. It ended after the death of King Harsha of Thaneswar (650 A.D.) in the complete victory of Bramhanism". Foreign invasions of India ending with the inroad of the Huns in the fifth century A. D. finally destroyed the military power of the Kshatriyas, and from the ranks of their conquerors arose a new nobility which in course of time was absorbed in the Hindu social system and usurped the style and rank of Kshatriyas. The disappearance of the old ruling class left the Bramhan "socially supreme, the one remaining link with the Aryan past, infinitely superior in the eyes of the people to their foreign rulers"...."The intrusion of these foreigners into a fastidious and exclusive society necessarily tightened anew the endogamous restrictions which had previously been somewhat relaxed; and though these were not yet as rigid

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as they afterwards became, yet Manu's statements show that endogamy was a general rule that admitted of few exceptions The prohibition of marriage of widows was probably introduced at this period. Function was hereditary, and any attempt to exchange the traditional for any other occupation had serious consequences. Generally speaking, the caste system as described by Manu, whose account may be put at 400 A. D., resembles in all important features the system of to-day. But it is not the same". Mr. Blunt places the final stage in the evolution of caste between the death of Harsha and the end of the twelfth century A. D., which is one of the darkest periods of Indian history. "As communications were bad and travelling unsafe", these local groups became perforce endogamous, and the custom of hereditary function was strengthened". "Caste law has been fixed for the last seven centuries at least. There have been many integral changes since that time. The process of segmentation has never stopped, and still goes on, as groups, for this reason or that, have risen or fallen in the social scale, they have separated from the parent caste and become endogamous. But all these changes have taken place under the caste system, in obedience to caste law. And though there have been minor modifications in that law under the influence of modern conditions, yet in all essential matters the caste system is still what it was seven centuries ago". "Under the pressure of circumstances, some caste customs have been materially

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modified. In some castes, the exogamous restrictions, grown intolerable with time, have been relaxed. The levirate has disappeared almost entirely; the old bride-price has been stereotyped, and, as a result of decreased purchasing power of money, has thus been reduced. An abandonment of traditional occupation is no longer regarded as calling for social ostracism, and the principle of hereditary function has ceased to be universally regarded as binding. The caste councils have been shorn of a part of their power—especially the commensal restrictions are no longer as rigid as they used to be". The author opines that "Commensal and food restrictions are the result of animistic taboos, reinforced by the Brahminical doctrine of ceremonial purity; and they too are customs of a *quasi* religious kind. Heredity of function is a commercial and not a social principle. All these, in fact, are not true social customs, the observance of which society has, for various reasons, chosen to enforce; and they could all be wiped out of existence without affecting the essential principle that underlies caste—namely, the principle of endogamy". Mr. Blunt adds that "through the diversity of Hindu society, there has always run a thread of unity; there has always been one bond to keep its many component parts together; this bond was the Bramhan hegemony". "There has always been a Hindu people, there has always been Hindu civilization; and it is the caste system that has preserved the distinctive unity of the one, and the distinctive nature of

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the other. Caste in the past has made for internal separation, but it has also made for external unity. There seems no reason to suppose that, in the future, it will have any different effect. Every nation must have its social system, surely it is advisable that it should maintain a system that is suited to its people. And as Sir Herbert Risley has remarked, caste is more than 'a mere mode of grouping the loose atoms of humanity', it is 'a congenital instinct'. There may be times when national and caste interests will clash. ..That has often happened in many nations. "It is seldom dangerous, for—*ex hypothesi*—the rest of the nation is on the other side. And it should be even less dangerous in India, since the leaders of society will also be the national leaders... At the present day every single Hindu political leader of first class importance in this province *(U. P.)* is a Brahman. In the days that are coming, the Brahman will have the greatest chance that he has had for two thousand years. And he will take it. It seems probable that, in the course of time, the nation will swallow up the caste, that the customary restrictions will be gradually modified till the social system becomes again one of classes, as it was in Vedic times. So be it. One thing, however, is certain,—that any attempt to hasten the processes of evolution would be fraught with danger....What is required is a pruning knife, not an axe".

These are not *a priori* theories of the author but inferences drawn from a wealth of accurate

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data collated and systematised with great care and industry. No student of Indian Ethnology can afford to overlook the book.

The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes.—*By S. Zuckerman, (London. Kegan Paul, 1932). pp. XII+357. Price 15 S. net.*

In this book we have a careful analytical study of the physiological and socio-sexual mechanisms and overt expressions of social life among the sub-human primates. As Anatomist to the Zoological Society of London, the author has had singular opportunities of prolonged scientific study of a rich collection of monkeys and apes; and this study has been further supplemented by observations on baboons in their natural habitat in South Africa. As a result we have this valuable work containing an accurate account of the socio-sexual mechanisms of apes and monkeys, and a description of their society in the light of his personal observations. An anaysis of the evidence collected by the author reveals that under natural conditions, in the wild, the sexual activities of sub-human primates show great similarity to human tendencies and differ from those of man only in their social significance,—mainly by their lack of definition. Our author concludes.—"In the life of the sub-human primate there is is not the same clean-cut distinction between male and female, between young and old, between living and dead, between homo-sexuality and hetero-sexuality, or

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even between monogamy and polygyny as there is in human society. This is a fundamental difference and, implying as it does, that sub-human primates do not apprehend in the way man does the significant characters of different social relations, it reflects the very wide gap separating the intelligent activities of man from those of other primates. The overt socio-sexual activities of sub-human primates are much further removed from those of the lower mammal than from those of man. The factors underlying associations of monkeys and apes are characterized by their continuous, rather than intermittent, sexual nature. The male primate is always sexually potent, while the female is also always to some extent receptive. In the lower mammal, on the other hand, the female, as a rule, accepts the male only during isolated periods of heat, and this intermittent character of the sexual bond is reflected in the transitory nature of their social unions. Morever the sexual responses of the lower mammal are mostly unconditioned and have but a small range of variation. Those of the primate, on the other hand, develop within the environment of a complex society and become largely conditioned; hence their greater variability". The primate reproductive mechanism "differs from that of a typical lower mammal in that although periods of increased stimulation do occur, they are not sharply defined; to some extent the physiological sexual stimulus is always present". Again, "the sensori-motor equipment and 'intelligence' of the monkey is such that he

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is able to take advantage of the permanent sexual association in which he lives to engage in sexual activities that are not directly associated with reproductive function or with sexual satisfaction", "Anthropomorphically speaking, it is by means of its sex that a monkey is able to obtain advantages to which it is not entitled by its position in the scale of dominance of its group".

"The nucleus of the societies of monkeys and apes is the family party, consisting of an overlord and his harem, held together primarily by the interest of the male in the females and by their interest in their young. Paternal interest is not strongly manifested by sub-human primates, and in this they doubtless show resemblances to the behaviour of the lower mammals. But the family of the primate differs from that of the lower mammal, since one of its essential members is overlord. The male of most lower mammals separates from his females after his rutting season is past, so that the family in his species is formed by the female and her young. A conspicuous character of the harem system and the system of dominance in the primates is the absence of all but clandestine promiscuity. And in this again the primate differs from many lower mammals. The harem forms the nucleus when several family parties unite to form a larger herd, but the herd never appears to be so stable a unit as the family, which never loses its identity within the larger group. Contrary to Miller's belief, there are no "losely organized or sexually promiscuous bands of monkeys and apes".

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Thus, "one may see in the life of monkeys a crude picture of a social level from which emerged our earliest human ancestors some time in the first half of the Tertiary geological epoch".

Although in the prehuman stages of his evolution man appears to have passed through the existing social level of the subhuman primates, "nothing is known of the intermediate social levels that may have existed between that of the subhuman primate and that of the most primitive food-gatherer ever described". Socially there are no obvious comparisons between man who is "usually monogamous, omnivorous, whose every activity is culturally conditioned", and "the monkey or ape with its harem, frugivorous, without any vestige of cultural processes". Familially, the permanant sexual association of human beings is a characteristic common to all primates, but absent in the majority of lower mammals. "But the family unit in man differs from that of the subhuman primate. At its lowest level, according to most authorities, the family of human society was monogamous. If reason played a part in determining the nature of the human family unit, it is very probable that it was guided by the demands of man's omnivorous diet. The polygynous gorilla or baboon can guard his females from the attentions of other males while they all forage together for fruits and young shoots. Primitive man, who, as the Palaeolithic arts display, was an animal largely dependent upon a diet of meat, would not have gone hunting if,

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in his absence, his females were abducted by his fellows. Reason may have forced the compromise of monogamy".

An exhanstive bibliography, an Index of authors and subjects referred to in the volume, an Index of Animals (mammalia) mentioned in the book, and 24 half-tone plates add to the value of the book.

A History of Indian Philosophy (Vol. II).—*By Surendra Nath Das Gupta, M. A., Ph. D., Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta; pp. 620. (Cambridge University Press).*

The book under review is the second volume of Dr. S. N. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* of which the first volume was published about nine years ago. The present volume does not, however, complete Dr. Das Gupta's attempt at presenting a systematic history of Indian Philosophy. He proposes to bring out three more volumes dreling with the dualistic and pluralistic systems and the minor schools of Hindu Philosophy.

The present volume contains four chapters on Sankara Vedanta, the medical speculations of the Ancient Hindus, and the philosophy of the Yoga-Vāsistha and the Bhagavad-Gīta. The first chapter on the Sankara School of Vedanta aims at a detailed study of a subject-matter already dealt with in the first volume. Dr. Das Gupta's main reason

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for this is that the reputation of the Sankara School of Vedanta is very high and many people are interested in it. In including the chapter on the speculations in the Medical Schools in this volume he observes that "a comprehensive work on the history of Indian Philosophy would be sadly defective without a chapter on these speculations, which introduce also some distinctly new ethical and eschatological concepts and a view of life which is wholly original". In this he is perfectly right. But he seems to lay himself open to a difficulty by remarking that medicine "was probably the origin of the logical speculations subsequently codified in the Nyaya-sutras". Religion and Metaphysics which dominated the positive sciences of the Ancient Hindus, including Medicine, seems to have conditioned the growth of logical speculations, and not Medicine as such. However that may be, Dr. Das Gupta has gone beyond the limitations of his specific task by incorporating into the present chapter a detailed account of the Hindu conception of the physiology of the human body, the appropriate place for which would have been in a history of the Positive Sciences of the Hindus.

As regards the exposition of Indian philosophical doctrines Dr. Das Gupta is strictly accurate and thoroughly reliable; and it is hoped that the present volume like the previous one, will be welcome to all students of Indian Philosophy. Morever, an additional advantage of Dr. Das Gupta's book is that it contains details which

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cannot be met with in other books of its kind. It may be noted here that Dr. Das Gupta has been well-advised in avoiding the attempt "to draw any comparisons or contrasts with Western philosophy".

N. V. Banerjee.

The Buddha's Golden Path.— *By Dwight Goddard, (Revised Second Edition. Luzac. 1931). Pp. X+214. Price 4 S. net.*

This modest volume purports to be "a manual of Practical Buddhism based on the teachings and practices of the Zen sect, but interpreted and adapted to meet modern conditions". From a careful study of the book we can say that it fulfills its claim of being a simple but comprehensive exposition of the essentials of Buddhism and Buddha's Inner Way of Enlightenment and Peace of Mind. The three parts into which the book is divided are headad respectively, (1) First Adventure: Through Restraint of Physical Desire to Emancipation; (2) Second Adventure; Through Mind-Control to Enlightenment, and (3) Third Adventure; Through Concentration of Spirit to Tranquilisation. Each 'Adventure' is divided into eight stages, each of which is lucidly described. As a simple and comprehensive hand-book of practical Buddhism, and a systematic exposition of the steps of the Golden Path we do not know of a better book.

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Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I—Report.— *By S. V. Mukerjea, B. A. (Oxon), F. S. S. (London) Census Commissioner, Baroda, (Times of India Press. 1932). pp. XV + 498. Price Rs. 6.*

This is the earliest volume of the Indian Census Reports for 1931 that has reached us. This volume appears to mark in some respects a distinct advance in the matter and manner of such official publications. The outstanding feature that strikes us in this volume is what, for want of a more expressive characterization, we may term its living human touch. The accomplished author of this volume has by skilfully relating statistics to living human interests infused life into the dead bones of figures and diagrams, charts and maps. Besides his skill in collecting, sifting, systematising, and marshalling a confusing array of statistics and other data the author brings to bear upon his work a sound judgment in properly evaluating and interpreting them by relating them to life, and illuminating them with pertinent comments instinct with human sympathy. If the remaining Provincial Reports of the present Census keep up the high level reached in this volume, the accomplished Chief of the Indian Census for 1931 will have achieved unrivalled success. The crowning glory of the present Census will, we feel sure, be the India Report to which all students of Indian Ethnology and sociology are looking forward with eager anticipations, as they once did to those of Risley and Gait. It is presumably

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to Dr. Hutton's initiation that we owe some of the particularly illuminating new maps and diagrams that form a welcome feature of the present volume, though a few features we believe are due to Mr. Mukerjea's own idea. It is, we believe, Mr. Mukerjea's own idea to add a realistic touch to the ethnographical portion of the volume by inserting some photographs (we regret there are not many more of them) to illustrate the life of the people of the State.

The population of the State, though more or less composite in formation, represents all the three main racial divisions of mankind, the White the Yellow and the Black. Of course, the Caucasian element preponderates in race as well as in language. There are, in the State, as many as 2,441,943 speakers of the Indian branch (mostly Central) of Indo-European languages, 539 speakers of the Eranian branch, 250 speakers of the Dardic branch, besides a few Sinhalese, and 250 Europeans The Tibeto-Burman and Mongolian families of speech are represented respectively by 13 and 46 speakers only, the Gypsy family is represented by 121 persons, the Semitic by 91, African speech by 9 persons, and Dravidian languages by 784 persons. It is in Western India alone that we meet with a settled population of African Negroes. The figure for African speech does not represent the entire African population in the State, but only recent immigrants. The Siddi or Habshi fakirs who are descendants of African Negroes speak a patois of Hindusthani

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interlarded with Gujarati and not their ancestral African tongue.

It may not be out of place to suggest that if the enlightened administration of Baroda thought fit to issue reprints of Appendix IX of the Report with suitable extracts from chapters X, XI and XII and from Appendix X, together with relevant Tables, they would earn the gratitude of students of Ethnology, for such a hand-book would prove a useful and handy guide to the Ethnology of the State, and might serve as a basis for further investigation. Space forbids us to enter into the various valuable aspects of this Report, which teems from cover to cover with a variety of useful and necessary information of absorbing interest. This volume is full of interesting and helpful information not only for the administrator and the ethnologist and sociologist, but also for the economist, the educationist, the eugenist, and the social reformer and political worker. We heartily congratulate Mr. Mukerjea and the Baroda State on the production of this brilliant Report.

Biology and Mankind.—*By S. A. McDowall, B. D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1931). Pp. XVIII+229. Price 6 S. net.*

This book provides for the general reader and the beginner in biological studies a short but fairly complete summary of the development and present position of such studies. It is divided into

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nine chapters as follows: I. Evolution; II. Theories of Evolution; III. The Inheritance of Acquired Characters; IV. Heredity; The Principles of Mendelian Inheritance; V. The Mechanism of Mendelian Inheritance. Sex: Inbreeding and outbreeding; VI. Inheritance in Man; VII. Inheritance and Social Affairs; VIII. Heredity and International Problems; IX. Conclusion. A Glossary and an Index, besides 46 illustrations and a Chart (after Haldane and Huxley) indicating the probable evolution of the Animal kingdom, complete the volume.

As will be seen from the table of contents of the volume, the author follows up his able but condensed survey of the facts and theories of evolution by a consideration of the influence of biological factors on the social and political history of mankind. The last chapters of the book raise practical problems of importance and are highly suggestive. The author rightly thinks that the basic facts of evolution and heredity ought to be known by everyone who wishes to form sound judgments on the problems of democracy. He says, "The foundation of freedom is the rigid necessity of physical and biological laws. Without such a foundation there could be no true, ordered freedom, but only chaos.....If Democarcy is to win its freedom and achieve its wonderful possibilities, it must both encourage the breeding of the fit and render the breeding of the unfit impossible". Though all his readers will not agree with the author in his suggestion that direct legislation should be resorted to in "rendering the breeding of the unfit impos-

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sible", none will deny the necessity of diminishing the incidence of unfitness by moral persuasion and similar other means. As an up-to-date summary of the facts and theories of evolution, the book will prove useful to those for whom it is intended.

The Psychology of Primitive People: A Study of the Australian Aborigine.— *By S. D. Porteus, (London, Edward Arnold. 1931). Pp. X is+438. Price 30 S. net.*

This volume purports to be the result of a series of investigations on the mental status of the Australian aborigines, carried out by the author at the invitation and under the direction of the Australian National Research Council, with the co-operation of the University of Hawaii. The book is divided into two parts. Part I, which is headed 'Aboriginal Environment' is intended primarily to give a picture of the physical back-ground of the Australian Blacks, their habitat and life, although psychological analysis based on observation of the daily life and generalized behaviour is also incidentally introduced. Part II, headed "Aboriginal Intelligence", enters more fully into an analysis and consideration of the racial intelligence and racial psychology as manifested in social organization and ceremonial social institutions and observances such as totemism and initiation. We must confess that the book has not fulfilled the ardent anticipations

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with which we took it up. Inspite of the application by our author of psycho-physical and other tests to determine the mental status of the people, we cannot say that the volume advances our knowledge of the real psychology of the people much further beyond the point to which the works of Spencer and Gillen and Howitt carried it. One serious handicap under which Professor Proteus appears to have laboured was that his stay in the country was not long enough to give him a deep insight into the inner mentality of the tribes, and he had to depend in many cases on second-hand information for his data. Moreover, mission stations are not ideal places and sophisticated aboriginal converts are not the most suitable material for anthropological work.

The Evolution of Culture.—*By Julius Lippert, Translated and edited by George Peter Murdock, (London: Allen Unwin, 1931). Pp. XXXIII+ 716. Price 20 S. net.*

This is a selective and critical English translation of one of the earlier classics of Anthropology. The original work was published in 1886-87. In his Introduction, Professor Murdock summarises the salient features of Lippert's work. The outstanding characteristic is his inductive approach and the employment of the comparative ethnographical method. Another characteristic is its breadth and scope. Lippert views society as a whole

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"not as an aggragate but as a compound", "covers the whole range of social phenomena neither omitting anything essential nor stressing any one aspect of society, like the economic, political or religious to the subordination of the rest", and "stresses the inter-relation of social phenomena, using such metaphors as the strands or threads of the social web or fabric". "He stops again and again to gather up his threads, and to indicate the wide ramifications of the particular subject into other fields. In his ability to co-ordinate and to point out the inter-relations of social phenomena, Lippert stands pre-eminent among sociologists". Another characteristic feature of Lippert's work is his "suggestiveness"—the occasional use of "a brilliant sentence or paragraph, which opens up a broad vista of some future or parallel development, or which sheds a ray of light on some subject which he has not occasion to develop". The most striking characteristic of Lippert's work is its modernity. Though an evolutionist, Lippert is not a "unilateral" or "monotypical" evolutionist. He points out the precariousness of taking a classification into clear-cut epochs or stages as a basis for the delineation of culture-history. "He faces squarely the problem of diffusion *versus* parallelism", and "clearly recognizes the two factors of invention and diffusion". "This modernity is again apparent in his clear conception of the distinction between the 'organic' and the 'super-organic'. He speaks of "the uniqueness of man's cultural evolution", and insists that "man's physical evolution has been independent

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of that of his social organization". "The conception of 'folkways' and 'mores' were acquired in essence by Lippert as a part of the German linguistic heritage in the words *Volksbraüche* and *Sitten*".

Besides avoiding the category fallacy, the unilateral evolution fallacy, the confusion of social and organic evolution and the concept of society as an organism, the identification of evolution with progress, he also escapes the "animal-series fallacy". "He recognizes that human social phenomena should not be regarded as an inheritance from lower animals', and that 'animal' instincts cannot be regarded as forming in their evolution a progressive series culminating in those of man". Though admitting the influence of the natural environment, Lippert perceives that independent cultural factors exist and play an important rôle in shaping social evolution, and rejects the extreme doctrine of 'geographic determinism'. Nor is he led astray by the "racial fallacy" which has fascinated so many writers from Gobineau to the present day. He realizes that the interpretation of cultural differences on grounds of race or nationality is "only an apparent explanation" and really begs the question: Similarly he rejects the "great man theory", though conceding a place to "the personal element" in social evolution. "Inspite of his somewhat ambiguous terminology, Lippert does not fall into the "*instinct fallacy*" either. Though he uses the term "instinct" with reference to certain social phenomena, he does not really

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confuse the social with the biological, but realizes the essentially acquired and social nature of these 'secondary instincts'.

As regards what may be called Lippert's sociological system, its general underlying principle is *Lebensfursorge* or "the care for life". "The internal impulse in man (or the lower animals) to live and to act in such a manner as to assure life. the 'drive toward adaptation' as it were". Social evolution, according to Lippert, finds expression in the care for life in time and in space, i. e, in increasing foresight and socialization. As to its mode, he recognizes the factors of invention and diffusion. Moreover, he takes into account the factor of selection through group-conflict. To Lippert, however, all social change proceeds from the basis of existing culture, the so-called 'cultural base'. "A factor of inertia resists change, and progress is made as a rule only when inexorably forced by changing life conditions. In common with most ethnologists, Lippert attributes differences in cultural achievements to the influences of the natural and social environments not to differences in mentality; he assumes the identity of the primary impulses and mental laws of all peoples. The leading rôle in social evolution, according to Lippert, is played by economic factors. He uses "the stages of economic foresight as a basis of classification" "Material culture and economic organization respond most readily to geographic influences and to cultural contacts, and then in turn mould and shape the development of matri-

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monial, gentile, political, ceremonial and religious institutions". But Lippert is neither a narrow "economic determinist" nor a rigid geographical determinist. This is evidenced by the influential röle which he assigns to "ideas" in social evolution. "It is characteristic of the evolution of mankind", says he, "that on each stage it has been stimulated and directed by a subjective element, its store of ideas". Man makes mental rather than physical adaptations to his environment, and thus adjusts not to nature directly (as lower animals do), but to his ideas about nature. This leads to illusion, which has played a prominent part in human history. Lippert clearly brings out the influence of religious ideas which, in particular, have shaped the course of society to a degree scarcely realized by the majority of culture historians. In dealing with objects of material culture he is primarily interested in pointing out their social implications. For example, in dealing with the evolution of tools and weapons, he treats, among other things, their bearing on concepts of property, their effect in creating a division of labour and stimulating trade, their use as fetishes and ornaments, their disciplinary influence on human nature, and the problem of diffusion *versus* parallelism which they suggest. In the sphere of marriage, Lippert was the first to show clearly the fundamental distinction between mating or sexual association as the manifestation of an elemental instinct, and marriage as a social phenomena. "Human marriage is a superorganic phenomena; it is devoloped in the *mores* as an adjustment to

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human needs in a social environment". Lippert was the first to show fully and clearly that marriage is primarily an economic institution on which the element of sex has been grafted as a secondary factor. He shows that marriage originated as a form of economic co-operation between the sexes based on a division of labour arising with progress and differentiation in the food-quest. On the subject of political institutions Lippert's contribution is insignificant. He subordinates the widely accepted view that the State is the product of conquest and exploitation to the conception of political evolution by the relatively peaceful process of confederation. In the sphere of religion, Lippert adheres in the main to the animistic or so-called "Ghost theory". "Lippert's contribution to the ghost theory includes his foreshadowing of Sumner's "aleatory element", his treatment of the negative or defensive aspect of the cult, and his development of fetishism. Lippert rightly lays stress on the significant rōle of religious ideas in cultural.

Prof. Murdock has laid English-speaking students of Anthropology under his debt by presenting them with an English translation of this important work. The value of the translation has been enhanced by his Introduction as well by the bibliography, appendices, foot-notes and an Index The book will form a valuable addition to the anthropologist's library.

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A Few Prehistoric Relics and the Rock-Paintings of Singanpur, Raigarh State, C. P.—*By Amarnath Datta, M. A., L. L. B. (Calcutta, 1932). Price Rs. 5.*

Students of Indian Pre-history are indebted to Mr. Amar Nath Datta for his interesting account of the Singanpur rock-paintings. The only previous notice of these paintings was, I believe, that of Mr. Anderson's to which reference has been made by the author. Mr. Datta's account is fuller. Mr. Datta further informs his readers that he has found in the Raigarh State at least one more rock-shelter with paintings of the Singanpur type, and the probabilities are that patient search will revel still others in Raigarh and neighbouring States. We eagerly look forward to further accounts from Mr. Datta of other pre-historic caves and cave-paintings in his part of the country.

The scientific world will be further grateful to Mr. Datta if, besides exploring the caves and describing their paintings, he could find time and the means to devote his energy to the excavation and exploration of the promising pre-historic and proto-historic sites in the neighbourhood of the rock-shelters, in order to secure reliable data for helping experts to ascertain the age of the cave paintings with some degree of confidence. In India, the urgent need at present is for exploration and collection of sufficient data for its pre-history and proto-history; and unless we accumulate adequate materials for the purpose, attempts at comparative study will be more or less barren of

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results. We congratulate Mr. Datta on the work he has done and is doing, and look forward to the results of his further investigations.

The Origin and Nature of Man.—*By G. Spiller, (Williams & Norgate, 1931). Pp. XIV+383. Price 15 S. net.*

The scope and object of the book is thus explained by the author in his Preface:—

"First, the author seeks to establish, what is forcibly suggested by a comprehensive survey of the facts, that the members of all animal species are virtually unable to learn anything from their kind, and that, on the contrary, human beings are able to do that to an almost unlimited extent. This will account for the well-nigh infinite potential superiority of human beings over animals, since in favourable circumstances individual men can multiply their powers almost endlessly through assimilating the substance of the consolidated thoughts and experiences of practically their whole race, past and present, whilst individual animals, for the reasons adduced, cannot virtually multiply their powers at all.

"Secondly, in explanation of the above crucial difference between man and animals, the author seeks to establish that the higher apes are not only the most intelligent animals, but that they are so advanced mentally that a further moderate mental advance, about equal to that of apedom

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beyond monkeydom, inevitably gives rise to an intelligence—that of man—just sufficiently developed to be able to learn freely from all intelligent beings. It seems thus possible to explain man's unique and dominating place in nature without assuming any yawning mental gulf between him and his nearest animal relations.

"Lastly, in seeking to establish the precise magnitude of the innate mental capacity reached by man as a consequence of this advance in inborn intelligence, the author finds, on examination, that if we discount the mass of information as to facts and as to modes of procedure which any given individual may have acquired from his myriad knowledge-producing and knowledge-pooling fellows, he would only be more or less able to improve modesstly the equivalent of a paleolithic tool or idea during a life-time.

"Hence man's close affiliation to the higher apes, together with his almost infinite potential superiority to them, are demonstrated. Hence, also, any stateable or immense differences in the mental status of human beings and human groups are to be explained by the relative assimilation or non-assimilation on their part of the ever-growing and ever-developing cultural heritage".

The author claims that in this book "for the first time an explanation is offered which reconciles (a) man's almost infinite mental remoteness from the animal world with his close proximity to it biologically and (b) the presence among men of measurelessly great differences in *observable* men-

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tal status with the absence among them of any noteworthy differences in *innate* mental status, as imperatively demanded by biologic science".

The book is divided into eleven chapters, headed respectively. I. Characters Common to Plants and Animals; II. The Distinctive Nature of Animals; III. Characters common to Animals and Man; IV. Human and Animal Behaviour Compared; V. The Distinctive Nature of Man; VI. Man's Place among Living Beings; VII. Definitions and Implications; VIII. The Law of Limitless Increase in Cultural Diversity; IX. The Law of Limitless Progress; X. The Law of Limitless Growth in Co-operation; XI. The Law of Limitless Individual Perfectibility; XII. Reasoned Summary.

These topics are as important and interesting as their treatment is lucid, thoughtful and thought-compelling.

Children Who Run on All Fours and other Animal-like Behaviors in the Human Child.— *By Ales Hrdlicka. (McGraw Hill Book Co, Inc., New York, 1931). Price $ 5-00 net.*

In this highly interesting volume its distinguished author has opened up a hitherto neglected but quite an attractive and instructive field of scientific inquiry. The evidence collected by Dr. Hrdlicka reveals that 'just as there are in the ontogeny of the human embryo and child

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physical 'recapitulations', so there are also those of behavioristic nature, and of their mental connections". Inspite of the wealth of interesting authentic information, tabulated and analysed in this volume, the present work, as the author himself says, is only "the opening chapter of the more obscure parts of the field of child behaviour". We look forward with ardent anticipations to the further researches by Dr. Hrdlicka in this fascinating field.

Cambridge Excavations in Minorca, Trapuco'. Part I.— *By Margaret A. Murray, with Chapters by Edith M. Guest, C. Ainsworth Mitchell and T. J. Ward (B. Quaritch, London, 1932).*

This is the first part of the Report of the excavations carried out by the author with his colleagues including an Indian scholar, Mr. Balakrishnan Nayar, the report of whose excavations of the Temenos of Torrèta will be published later. The expedition was entirely financed by the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology, and its Director to whom the initiation of the scheme is due. Anthropologists and archaeologists will remain deeply indebted to the authorities of the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and the members of the expedition for the valuable work they are doing. The account by Dr. Margaret Murray of the Temenos and Taula and their adjoining buildings, and of the Human Remains and Pottery by Dr.

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Edith M. Guest and the Analyses by Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Ward, are intensely interesting. The 42 plates, containing innumerable figures, exhaustively illustrate the valuable archæological finds unearthed by the expedition. The Report throws a flood of light on the prehistoric archæology of Minorca.

Education for Empire Settlement. A Study of Juvenile Migration.—*By Alex. G. Scholes (Longmans, 1932). Pp. XII+250. Price 7 S. 6d net.*

This is the first volume of the Series of Imperial Studies monographs published under the ægis of the Royal Empire Society. In this study of Juvenile migration or the movement overseas of young people of the British Empire under the age of twenty-one and above fourteen, the author traces the history of the movement from its origin and deals with the lessons learned by experience in the selection, training and transfer of young overseas seltters, the supervision required for their welfare and the assistance necessary to establish them in their new life. The first two parts of the book deal with the History of Juvenile migration up to date, and in Part III, the social aspects of juvenile migration are discussed with special reference to education. The author regards Empire Settlement as the most urgent of Great Britain's national duties and pleads for increasing efforts to swell the number of juvenile migrants while maintaining the present high standards of selection,

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placement and supervision, and for training young agricultural workers so as to fit them individually for the work awaiting them overseas.

This series of monographs which is edited by Dr. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London, and is meant to encourage promising research-scholars in a fruitful field of practical utility, will be welcomed by all students of modern history.

Sorcerers of Dobu. The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific.—*By R. F. Fortune, With an Introduction by B. Malinowski. (Routledge, 1932). Pp. XXVIII+318. Price 15 S. net.*

This is a first-rate ethnographical study of a hitherto unexplored but highly interesting Melanesian tribe. It is a typical and, in fact, a pioneering illustration of the method of the functional school of anthropological work which combines constructive with descriptive analysis of observations. Dr. Malinowski in his illuminating Introduction to the volume notices the salient features of the book. And we cannot do better than quote a few extracts from his appreciation of the work. "The book, though crammed with facts, is yet quick with the reality of native life. It is dramatic in its method of exposition, and instructive as one of the most penetrating sociological analyses in anthropological literature. I know, in fact,

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of no better account of field-work, nor one more informative.....The present work may be regarded by the Functional Method as one of its triumphs in the field. Dr. Fortune's account presents the two qualities which good functional field-work claims as its own. One the one hand, it is a piece of sociological analysis of the tribal organization of the Dobuans. On the other hand, far from giving us merely the scaffolding of social structure, the book brings us right in touch with the living individual, it gives us the feeling of communal life, it allows us to re-live the fears, the passions, the deep traditional beliefs and superstitions of the natives....

"Though sorcery is in a way the most sensational part of Dr. Fortune's book, it is not, in my opinion the most valuable. His chapter on gardening is among the best accounts published of an economic pursuit and of the attached magical control. Those of us who know the Melanesians of New Guinea at first hand are well aware that their strongest passion is for their gardens. In his account Dr. Fortune has brought out this attitude clearly; he has also shown the way in which magic interpenetrates practical activities, how it is an organizing and integrating force .. ..The most valuable part of Dr. Fortune's book will remain unquestionably his opening part on sociology. The precise, convincing, and well-documented manner in which he has described the functioning of the *Susu*, the matrilineal group, consisting of brother and sister and her children,

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on the one hand, and, on the other, the family, consisting of husband and wife and their children, provides us with an entirely new picture of a hitherto unknown sociological constellation. Some data concerning kinship terminology above all, the custom of changing nomenclature on the death of a man, will supply the clue to a great many of the most discussed kinship puzzles. "The dual residence of a family, patrilocal and matrilocal, a year or so in the wife's village, and them another year in the husband's, is a rare and most interesting feature of social organization. It gives to the Dobuan family an unique constitution, and will throw new light on our theories concerning kinship and descent. The distinction between villagers or citizens and "those-resulting-from-marriage",...is less startling, but also very important for the comparative sociology of primitive cultures. The wealth of mythological data and the placing of myth within the context of culture which allows us to appreciate the fuction of myth, is one of the most valuable contributions of this book.... A special merit of Dr. Fortune's monograph is the 'case method' in anthropological description, as it might be called". ..This is unquestionably a most valuable contribution to anthropological literature. It has outstanding merits both in its manner and in its matter.

Faith, Hope, and Charity in Primitive Religion.—*By R. R. Marett, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932). Pp. 181. Price 10 S. net.*

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There are not many anthropologists as competent to speak of primitive religion as Dr. Marett. In this volume we have his latest disquisition on the subject. The book is divided into ten chapters, headed respectively, I. The Religious Complex, II. Hope, III. Fear, IV. Lust, V. Cruelty, VI. Faith, VII. Conscience, VIII. Curiosity, IX. Admiration, and X. Charity. These were originally ten lectures delivered as Gifford Lectures before the University of St. Andrews during the academic year 1931-2, amplified from Lectures originally given in Boston in the Fall of 1830 under the auspices of the Lowell Institution. These Lectures really form a most valuable and instructive exposition of the philosophy not only of primitive religion but of primitive life. An imperfect substance of the Lectures is given below for the benefit of the readers of this Journal.

On the hypothesis that religion helps the savage to live, it is religious feeling which provides the necessary help by way of assurance of being in touch with this higher power which is by gradual experiment revealed as a power making for righteousness. If religion is taken to be an intensified expression of the will to live, a positive hopefulness is seen to be the basic element; fear is secondary to Hope, if equally fundamental in religion, its true function being to induce a needful caution. In seeking to regularize the violence of sexual emotion, religion has been less concerned to encourage than to restrain it. Marriage being at first little more than tolerated licence, develops

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rites that are partly peculiar, though partly making for communion between groups. As male ascendancy grows, the fertility cult gives way to forms of religion that reflect masculine authority. Hunting, as the earliest mystery-craft must have helped to invest blood with a sacredness that may account for the origin of cooking as a purificatory rite, while the slaying of the animal is felt to need apology. So too in human sacrifice, in the slaying of the king at the end of his term of office, and the salf-immolation of the *satti*. These vicariously represent a general habit of self-torture which looks back to early beginnings. It is not inconsistent with the hopefulness inherent in religion that it should rest on a faith in tradition. Another trait of such a mind being to enjoy repetition by rote, it is on this that the static type of society seizes in order to obtain the rigid system of law that it needs. The cyclical view of life, reflected in the belief in reincarnation, implies a round of duties comprised in a sacred custom, and only faith in its infallibility can supply the moral effort needed to maintain it. Together with a blind allegience to social convention goes sorrow at being out of touch with the rest and a desire to be restored to the fold. Though some sins are irremediable, others admit of rites of penance which remove the pollution, while the publicity of the humiliation helps to cast down the sinner in his own eyes. In treating the pursuit of knowledge as a mystery for which a moral discipline must form

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a preparation, primitive religion effectively refutes that shallow interpretation of its rites which, because an appeal to a god is not always in evidence, deems them self-sufficient and arrogant. Religion is found in association with the desire to express beauty of form from the days of the cave-artists. Emotion attaches more readily to concrete wholes and fine art can assist religion in bringing out the quality of that which is worthy to be admired and loved. The primitive world is less uncharitable than is sometimes believed. Within the primitive home the woman must have played her natural part of peace-maker. Endo-cannibalism, cutting for the dead, and blood-brotherhood are rites making for consciousness of kind. As contrasted with a just but heartless legalism, charity gives freely without insisting on reciprocity. Charity is no late message sent down to civilized folk from heaven. It is something that whispers in the very life-blood of the race.

The above rough summary does not give an adequate idea of the wealth of reflection and observation contained in this valuable book. And we feel sure that many of our readers will seek to acquaint themselves with the contents of the book in original.

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1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—*Twelve Rupees.*

SOME OPINIONS ON THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and inteligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :—"In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :— "I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the American Anthropologist. The

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book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in a very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

The Nature (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

The Discovery. (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the Oraon social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

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A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

The Statesman (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

The Forward (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works— *The Birhors*, *The Mundas* and *The Uraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

The Modern Review (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

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of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on *The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

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2. **THE BIRHORS** : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. (Ranchi : "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, 1925). Price Rs. 10/- ; or 15 s.

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MAN IN INDIA.

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I. THE KUI OR THE KONDH PEOPLE.

By

B. C. Mazumdar, B. L., M. R. A. S.

Rev. W. Winfield and Rev. F. V. P. Schulze have given us in their admirable works on the speech of the Kui people some very interesting linguistic facts which justify scholars to pursue fresh research in the matter of the origin of the people. This note is intended to direct the attention of the scholars to those facts. To do so I should at first give a short account of the present situation of the Kui or Kondh people in the neighbourhood of the Telugu and Ōṛiyā speaking people.

The hilly and forest-covered tract lying between the northern parts of the Vizagapatam district and that portion of the right bank of the Mahānadi which falls within the district of Sambalpur in the west and the State of Daspalla in the east, is mainly inhabited by the Kui people who call themselves Kuinga and who are called Kandha by the Ōṛiyās and Kondh by some Telugu-speaking people. Both Kui and Kuvi are now terms used to signify the speech of the people, Kui

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is a simple variant in pronunciation of the term Kuvi, which prevails in the Vizagapatam district. These Kui or Kuvi-speaking Kondhs abound in the following political divisions, namely, Daspalla, Baud, Khondmalls (Phulbani), Kalahandi, Gumsur, Udaygiri Taluk and Chinna Kimedi in the district of Ganjam and Bissamkatak Taluk and Gunupur Taluk in the Vizagapatam district.

The Kondhs living in the above geographical area speak their own Kui language while those found in other parts of Oṛissā have wholly adopted the Ōṛiyā language and have accepted *Kandha* as their tribal name. These Ōṛiyā-speaking Kandhas are quite in good number all over the district of Sambalpur and in many Ōṛissā States from the left bank of the Mahānadi to the northern boundary line of Ōṛissā. This fact very clearly proves that if even the Kondhs were not once the dominating people all throughout the land described above, they must have been once an important noticeable factor in the population of the lands lying between the State of Mayurbhanj and the left bank of the Mahanadi, using their own speech independently.

Again, in the Kuvi speech of the people living in the northern parts of the Vizagapatam district a direct and substantial influence of the Kanarese speech has been very carefully noticed by Rev. F. V. P. Schulze. It is a far cry between Telugu-speaking Vizagapatam and the land where Kanarese prevails. Nowhere in the very extensive tract of the land between Vizagapatam and

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the Kanarese-speaking country any trace of the Kondh people has hitherto been obtainable. Migrations and displacements of various races were once incessant. Fixity in the matter of the habitat of the aboriginal races has continued, generally speaking, only since the time of British supremacy in India. Previous to British rule records of the movements of various races were never maintained or cared for. Now linguistic palæontology and such other factors should come to our aid to get a glimpse of the dim past.

The Ōṛiyā Kondhs who scatter over Ōṛissā in small groups do still retain a few words of the Kui speech and agree with the Kui or Kuvi-speaking Kondhs in some important social customs. We can notice one social condition of theirs which points to their old time influence in the Hinduised Ōṛissā. In the State of Bāmṛā there were till the other day some Kondhs zemindars under the Hindu Ruling Chief of the State. Again, some ancestors of the present Ruling House of Sōnpur created three zemindaries on the southern border of the Sōnpur State by making 3 Kondh families the hereditary zemindars of these *elākās* or estates. It has also to be noticed that unlike the Telugu-speaking neighbours of the Kondhs, the Ōṛiyās all over Ōṛissā have adopted and naturalised a good number of words of the Kui speech in their language of Aryan descent. This has been due to what is significant to note.

The high class Dravidian people of Aryan culture entertain a strong unfriendly feeling in

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social matters towards the Kondhs and other aboriginal tribes, while the Ōṛiyās, like other northern peoples of Aryan culture, are generous and tolerant and do not think that either the nearness or an occasional touch of the aborigines would defile them. I personally know that many Ōṛiyā Brāhmaṇs of priestly occupation do officiate as priests in the houses of some semi-Hinduised well-to-do Kondhs and Binjhals. It should, however be noted that the Brāhmaṇ priests do not touch the water offered to them by the Kondhs. Regarding the priests of the Kondhs another significant fact will have to be added presently. Be it noted that even in the Khondmals the Kondhs mix freely with the lower class Ōṛiyās when they come together as fellow-labourers, though neither the Kondhs, nor the low class Hindus, drink a glass of water that would be offered by one to the other. It is quite noteworthy that in the Khondmals, in the neighbourhood of Ōṛissā, Pāns and Doms have not only taken their permanent residence in the Kondh villages, but have fully adopted the Kui speech to make themselves the very Kondh people, as it were. Such facts are wholly unknown in that tract of the Kondhs which falls within the area of the Vizagapatam district.

It is no doubt very correctly admitted on all hands that the Kuvi or Kui speech as an independent language belongs to the Dravidian stock of languages, but some special features of this language must be noted to ascertain its true

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character. I need hardly remind the readers that the term Dravidian is culture-indicating and has no reference to the ethnic character of the speakers. I notice those characteristics of the essentially Dravidian speech of the Kondhs which argue in favour of my proposition that the Kondhs coming under the strong influence of a Dravidian language had to adopt that Dravidian tongue by allowing their own original tribal speech to fall into disuse. Two very well known race-distinguishing features in a language are noticed below with examples.

Phonetic peculiarities of a race are hard things to die out very easily. It is an essential peculiarity of the Dravidian tongue that initial letters of words are never formed of conjoint consonants. Exception to this rule can never be noticed in genuine Dravidian words, and it is only when words have been borrowed from Sanskrit that this rule has been slightly deviated from. It is a well known fact that in adopting Sanskrit words with initial letters formed of conjoint consonants the initial letters have generally been split up in a manner peculiar to the speakers, say, the Tamil-speaking people. Wholly in disagreement with this rule we get many genuine Kui words—and some of them are set out here,—namely, Mṛehenii (man), Mṛienju (a son), Krīka (the ear), Pṛānga (rice), Pṛēnu (bone), Tlāroṭi (mid), Klāpa (to crow), Gṛāpa (to cross) and Kṛāḍi (tiger). These words of quite primitive conception do not only disclose the non-Dravidian phonetic peculiarity,

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but they are words which are wholly unknown in any form in the languages of the Dravidian stock; these words of the Kondhs are also not found in the vocabulary of neighbouring or distant aboriginal tribes. That they are not words of Aryan origin, need hardly be told.

Along with the above examples of words I give another short list of words of easy conception in the mind of primitive man which are wholly of Kui speech and do not occur in any language of the neighbouring tribes or races. They are: Sukanga (stars), Xamboṛi (forest), Koḍi (cow, bullock), Pāla (cooked rice), Pēni (cold), Piju (rain), Rūva (to plough), Siḍru (water), Sōru (hill), Kūra (wife), Lāa (young woman), Lavenii (young man), Māṛinga (bamboo), Dānju (moon, also month, also season), Koinjur Dānju (cold season and other Dānjus or seasons), Āku (leaf), Ajanjāpa (danger), Ḍehinge (false), Dīna (country), Eju (food), Mīḍa (child), Sake (hunger).

In choosing about thirty words as given above I kept it perfectly in mind that the words in a language do not clearly prove a distinct character of it. I know that a good number of Ōṛiyā words can be found to have swelled the Kui vocabulary. My examples are, however, of special significance. They show, first, a phonetic peculiarity of the tribe, and, secondly, they show how the Kondhs are in possession of a large number of words of primitive conception which cannot be shown to have been in the stock of any other people.

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I now proceed to give some grammatical examples which also will point to independent tribal or racial origin of the Kondhs. It is a known fact in the science of language that syntactical structure in the language of a people discloses such a mode of thinking of the mind which is almost impossible for the race or the people to be divested of. I take notice at first of the manner in which compounds are formed in a wholly peculiarly Kondh form disagreeing with the genius of other languages all around the Kui-speaking zone. Āatenju (he was not), Burjidi (you will forget), Etenju (he reached), Gāṛi ātenju (he was born), Jāpa gaṭanju (beggar) and Vāanateru (you who do not come), are some examples.

The manner in which the passive voice is expressed, say, in Telugu or Tamil, is not at all followed in this Kui speech. The idea expressed in such a sentence in English as 'the bullock was killed by over-work', is expressed in this manner, namely, 'Dehane paiti gia masaki kōḍi sāte (because the cow had done much work it died)', which method is not in agreement with Telugu, Tamil or other Dravidian languages.

Again, in expressing case relations the Kondhs today have been slowly adopting the Telugu method, but their own old method still obtains which is wholly peculiar to the Kui language. The case relations in genuine Kui form are expressed by separate auxiliary words of independent signification.

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In the matter of grammatical gender the Kondhs now no doubt follow the rule of standard Dravidian tongue in accepting only the masculine forms in respect of exalted beings and in relegating all other nouns to the neuter class, but some very old forms disclose that to make feminines of masculine forms the sufix 'ska' was once in general use. This 'ska' is to be noticed again to be formed of conjunct consonant.

I could multiply examples, but I refrain from doing so, as my purpose is only to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that the Kondhs very clearly appear to be ethnically different on the evidence of their language not only from the Dravidian-speaking Tamil or Telugu, but also from other races of men who are around and about them. A fresh research in this matter is very much needed in the interest of ethnology and general history.

In fine, I record this highly significant fact that the Gaṇḍās (not to be confounded with the Gōnḍs) whose geographical extension is limited to the Sambalpur area and who have always been held as an untouchable people by the Hindus, are employed by the Kondhs of Ōṛissā to officiate as priests in funeral ceremonies and in funeral ceremonies only. These Gaṇḍās, notorious for their thieving propensities, are employed in the Sambalpur area as village watchmen and their general occupation is to weave coarse cloth. It is desirable in the light of this fact to push on a searching investigation in the matter of the origin of those Gaṇḍās in the Kui-speaking area who are found specially employed to perform many magical rites customary among the Kondhs.

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II. THE CYCLE OF LIFE AMONGST THE KŌRWĀS.

By D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.

Lecturer, Lucknow University.

As soon as a child is born, the Kōṛwās send information to the headman of the village and the couple is visited one by one by all the members of the village, male and female. If it is the first child of the family, elaborate arrangements are made for a feast where all the villagers are treated to food and drink and for days together *karmas* are held in the family courtyard and young people meet, dance and enjoy to their hearts' content. Drink is provided by the family concerned. On the eighth day, presents are offered to the family in the shape of rice, pulses, fowls or vegetables which of course are spent in feasting the guests. There are few pregnancy rites observed by the Kōṛwās and before any case of pregnancy is discovered in the family some deceased ancestor of the family makes its appearance to some member of the family, generally the mother, in dream and gives out the name of the ancestor which will be born in the role of the newborn child. The fact of the dream is revealed to the members early in the morning following and since then the woman receives certain attention from the villagers. When she arrives at an advanced stage, she has to observe certain taboos which protect her from physical dangers as well as those which are likely

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to be caused by evil spirits. Stories about the achievements of the ancestor who is believed to be gracing the family in the role of the future child are narrated by elderly women of the family to the pregnant woman which of course are much relished by the latter. Sometimes the members of the family have to resort to divination to find out whether any ancestor is likely to be reborn. It is not only ancestors of the family who are reborn in the family but even the spirits of animals reincarnate themselves. This of course is only known by divination. The husband of the pregnant woman, in absence of any revelation in dream, approaches the village Baiga to ascertain the identity of the expected child. The Baiga selects an auspicious day when he promises to invoke his favourite spirit who can only reveal the necessary information. On the fixed day, he offers a cup of *gūṛ* and a pot of wine to this spirit and chants vociferous incantations in honour of the latter which is believed to rouse it to activity. This spirit will then announce the identity in an indirect way which leaves little doubt in the mind of the husband concerned. The Baiga will get possessed and in course of possession will announce the different marks on the person of the child, either a black spot on the right side of the chest, or a mole on the cheek, or a scar on the thigh, or a white speck on the forehead or some such physical similarity between the child and the particular ancestor which will unmistakably enable the husband to trace the child to the

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ancestor believed to have possessed the traits.

Abortion and still birth being quite frequent, a pregnant Kōṛwā woman takes great care to avoid all places associated with evil spirits; she refuses to get out after dusk, she will not go near the river or pass under the *peepul* tree (*ficus religiosa*), she will not follow the cattle to the forest, she will not look at a rainbow or red cloud, she will not not tread on red rags or cross a string or rope, she will refuse to lift any weight or draw water from a well when she stirs out of the house, she will cover her body in such a manner that she may not been seen and identified, she will veil herself when she may have to speak with her relations, she will never carry an empty pitcher, she will not take fish or meat or destroy any vermin or insect. Thus she observes hundred and odd taboos which greatly restrict her movements but she obeys them willingly because any breach of these taboos will harm the child in her womb. Besides these observances, she has to offer food and sacrifices to a host of ancestors who are sheltered in a corner of the hut where she sleeps during night. She has also to invite the Baiga or the Bhagat on an auspicious day to her house, where the latter is engaged to propitiate all the spirits that move on earth and air and who may harm the future child. The husband has not to observe many taboos but he has to humour the wife in such a way that she may not feel that she has been slighted or she is not taken proper care of. Even a spontaneous conformity to these observances does not do away

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with the possibility of an abortion or still birth, for it seems probable, if not certain, that the herbs and roots which the Kōṛwā women use to avoid pregnancy before and in many cases after marriage may have some prejucidial effect upon the reproductory system which makes the recurrence of such mishaps possible. The use of indigenous medicine to prevent conception may be to safeguard against premarital license or to limit the family, for the economic condition of the people demands continence or control which has of course been an accomplished fact.

In cases of difficult labour, the Kōṛwās take recourse to a number of magical practices which are known to every woman. As soon as the woman feels labour pains, some female member of the house brings a *thali* or plate and in the presence of the woman draws a figure resembling a human being the effect of which is believed to be an instantaneous delivery. But this method is not always practised for such instantaneous delivery is attended with dangers such as still birth or deformity. It is only when the labour pains become very acute and all other devices fail that the Kōṛwā women resort to this forced delivery as it is called by them. In case of difficult labour, the husband approaches the village Baiga who sacrifices a hen to Chuṛail or Balsādhok and the blood of the sacrificed hen is offered in a leaf cup. The husband then brings a few drops of blood in a leaf cup and puts a mark of blood on the forehead of the woman and this makes smooth delivery possible. When the woman is in

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an advanced stage of pregnancy a small piece of *biskanda*, a medicine for relief of pain, is tied round the waist of the woman which is believed to ensure safe and painless delivery. In some cases, the flesh of the sacrificed hen is waived over the body of the woman and thrown into the neighbouring stream. A week or two before the expected delivery, the members of the house sit together inside a hut with an earthen pot full of water in the centre and the oldest male member of the house or, in his absence, the oldest female member (for the husband is not allowed to take part in this case) takes some *urid* grain in her palm and asks the youngest member present whether the grain in her hand is odd or even. If it is odd, a male child will be born; if it is even, a female child to be sure. When this is ascertained, the woman again throws two grains in the water; if they meet, which they generally do (for the water has already been stirred before the grains are dropped) it is believed that the labour would be easy and painless. If they do not meet, the experiment is tried thrice; and in case they do not meet at all, the Baiga has to be called in and sacrifices and offerings are to be made to the spirits concerned and only when regular propitiation has been made that confidence returns to the members and the woman bears her pain without complaint.

Generally speaking, no midwife is engaged by the Kōṛwās to help delivery. As soon as the pain becomes acute, the woman confines herself

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inside a hut and some other female member of the house or a near relation, the mother or aunt of the woman remains with her. A knife or scythe is placed under the pillow which serves double purposes. It is used as a charm against evil spirits and is used to cut the umbilical cord after delivery. The woman catches hold of a horizontal bar which connects the two sides of the roof which meet at an apex at the top and hangs freely from the bar. The other woman takes a piece of rag in her hands and as soon as the child glides down, she catches it in her arms by means of the rag, smartly cuts the umbilical cord. The woman then leaves the bar and lies down in the bed below. The baby is at once bathed in warm water, cleaned and is placed in the lap of the attending woman. The mother is not given any solid food for two to three days and has to live on a kind of pulse soup specially prepared for the occasion. The husband also has to take a sip of this draught. The mother is also given a preparation of *'satawan'* which is used by the nursing mother to increase the supply of milk in her breast. A couple of hours after the delivery, the child is softly rubbed with oil and turmeric paste and the head is manipulated in such a way as to press it in the anterio-posterior direction thus making the formation of the parietal tuberosities posible which in the early stage of formation are not well developed. The vertical height of the head is reduced by pressing the top of the head which brings it down to the level of the bregma and makes the head

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flat. For eight days, morning and evening, regular prayers are offered to the village godlings and ancestral spirits to protect the child from the influence of malign spirits, and offerings and sacrifices are promised to the latter in case the child should survive. The placenta and the umbilical cord are placed in a leaf cup and buried in the courtyard, care being taken that these may not be dug out by animals or acted upon by witches or sorcerors, the effect of which is fatal to the child. In some families, the mother is allowed to eat a preparation of dry fruits, *gūṛ* and *ghee* but ordinarily she has to live upon liquid diet for at least three days. During the first eight days, the family is regarded as polluted and the members of the family are not allowed to mix freely with the villagers, but no restriction is observed as to food quest or fetching water from the river or tank, the only restriction enforced and willingly obeyed is that the woman or any member of the polluted family does not fetch water from the same *ghat* whence others get it. The father will not shave his beard, cut his hair or pare his nails and the family will not offer any offerings or sacrifices to the ancestral spirits or village godlings and in case some festival falls in during the days of pollution, the family will send its offerings and birds to be sacrificed if any, to a neighbouring family and the latter will do it for the polluted family.

In case any death occurs in the village and as every villager is more or less related to every

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other villager, the pollution is extended by another week or so and the family will prefer to remain segregated for another week or more. The attitude of the newly disincarnated spirit is always misunderstood by the villagers and it is believed to do some herm to the new-born child. Yet no specific instance could be cited by the oldest members of the Kōṛwā tribe to show that actual harm has been done by the dead.

There is no elaborate or spectacular ceremony connected with the birth of children in Kōṛwā villages. It is only when the child happens to be the first issue or the only child in the family that *Karmas* and feasts are held to welcome it, otherwise birth is taken as a matter of course and the society takes little notice of the happening. On the eighth day after the child is born there is a purificatory ceremony but no Brāhman or Patari is called in and there is hardly any tribal feast given as is generally the custom with the Mūṇḍā tribes. The mother and the baby are bathed and anointed with oil and turmeric paste and the husband puts a vermilion mark on the forehead of the wife. The hut where the woman was confined is cleansed and rinsed with cowdung solution and the scanty belongings in the room are either washed or thrown away. Things made of leaf or bark are generally discarded while metallic utensils, if any, are cleaned and washed, and before they are again taken into the room, water sanctified with cowdung is sprinkled on them. Earthen vessels, if any, are always

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thrown away. The husband and all other adult members of the house shave their beard, pare their nails while the husband has also to shave his head clean. No barber is engaged and the whole thing is done without the help of any member from an alien tribe or caste. Women are required to bathe in the neighbouring stream or river and after they return home, rice and pulse are cooked in the courtyard which are served in leaf plates to the family members. The chief menu of the hour being pots of ale or country liquor, often toddy and this has the efficacy of refreshing the family after the day's toil.

There is no fixed day when name is to be given to the child and three is hardly any anxiety displayed by the members of the family or the elders of the village in connection with it. The family names are only repetition of the names of ancestors and the third or fourth generation bear the names of the first generation. The ancestor always returns to the family, so the child is never regarded as a stranger for he will only unfold himself with advancing years. So very little thought is spent by the Korwas over the future of the child. The child will do nothing which has not been done by the ancestor whose reincarnated self he is and is expected to shine in the same way as was done by the ancestor. This attitude is responsible for the absence of any system of training for the Korwa children who are allowed to grow without any control

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from the society or even from the family to which they belong. As soon as they reach eight or ten years of age, they freely mix with the adults and accompany them to the forests, smoke ficca together and are treated as friends by the elders. When he is fifteen or sixteen he sits in the tribal council, takes sides in the disputed and he expresses his opinion without the least restriction or without any fear of interference or molestation. Thus his position in the tribe is fixed by custom or status and there is hardly any occasion for providing any training for him. There is no dormitory in the Korwa villages, no institution which teaches all the processes connected with sex relationship as amongst the Oraons, no sacred influence of hearth and home and no apprenticeship for learning the secrets of the tribe or tribal lore. When the villagers play their karmas, the children of the village gather together and join the adults, imitate the steps, play on the drums. sound the horn or the gong and thus learn the art without any active part taken by the elders to train them up. When the dangers sign in tune, the children also do the same amongst themselves and ere long learn the intricacies of music without any guidance from the adults. But the songs must be correctly learnt and rendered and when there is any mistake or omission, the elders coach them up.

It is only in the methods of food quest that there exists some scope for training and this the elders give to the boys of the village ungrudg-

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ingly. While they go out hunting they take the boys with them; first they serve as beaters but gradually they are taught how to shoot with bows and arrows or throw missiles and such is the aptitude of the boys that they soon become skilful archers and adept in throwing stones or projectiles. In the selection of roots and fruits the boys get their lessons from the adults who take them into the densest part of the forest and show them the process of selection, the varieties which they can use for food or for medicine or for tanning the hides and the different poisonous species of plants and fruits which they should avoid. Every Kōṛwā village has a village headman who is either a sapurdar or the leader of the Kōṛwās of the village. There is a spacious hut in his house which is used by the villagers as a common room and young and old meet together and spend their leisure in gossiping or playing indegenous sedantary games.

The Kōṛwās are more or less settled and peaceful cultivators. This agricultural stage of their life is not a gradual and insensible adjustment to the factors of environment nor has it been achieved by a slow pracess of evolution from the hunting or nomadic stage as a They are agriculturists by compulsion so that the methods they employ in eking out their subsistence by means of agriculture are far from satisfactory. Still the hunting and predatory instincts which they possessed have given place to settled ways of life which have been reflected to a certain

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extent in their social and economic life. Marriage by capture is a thing of the past and its prevalence in earlier days is only to be gathered from a number of customs associated with their marriage which are only survivals of the once customary observance. Instead of marriage by capture we get a peaceful method of selection which engenders little betterness and less efforts. The field of selection has of course been much circumscribed but there is still scope for mutual selection. As a rule all marriages are arranged by the parties concerned and the elders seldom interfere in the choice of the young people. Where the parents take active part in arranging marriages, the final choice remains with the young people concerned and any refusal on the part of the bride or the bridegroom leads to dissolution of the proposed union. There has been of late a tendency to child marriage which the Kōṛwās have learnt from their Hinduised neighbours but the number of cases of child marriage are few and far between and there is no indication that child marriage will gain in popularity. In all the cases of child marriage which I observed, the contracting parties happened to be of affluent circumstances and could afford for the luxury they indulged in. The average Kōṛwā is poor and in many cases destitute and withal improvident. They seldom desire to marry before they are sure of maintaining their wife and children. So they always marry late in life. Women are more or less earning members and as such there is a tendancy to marry aged girls and even widows who are believed

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capable of augmenting the family income. The sex ratio is approximately 5;3 but it has not led to polygamy. This seems to be an apt instance of how a disturbed balance of the sexes does not lead to its natural consequences. The stress of economic forces resisting or overriding the stress of biological force.

The bride has to be purchased and the bride price varies from five to nine rupees. In addition to this pecuniary consideration the bridegroom has to offer some ornaments the price of which varies from ten to twenty rupees. A widow is more expensive than a maiden and the bride price is fixed by the widow herself. The cost of feeding the whole community comes to about twenty to thirty rupees, so the average expense for a marriage may be calculated to be about fifty rupees including two maunds of rice and clothes. The prevalence and nature of brideprice greatly affect the social life of a community for even the marriage age is determined to a certain extent by these considerations. An extreme case is afforded by the Hos, where the excessive brideprice has been responsible for raising the age of marriage and a phenomenal decrease in the number of regular marriages which is compensated by irregularity of sex relationship as well as premarital intimacy between the sexes which is not seriously recognised by the elders of the society.

The average marriage age for the boys is seldom below twenty while girls are not married before fifteen. Puberty sets in about the thir-

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teenth year and marriage and cohabitation go. gether. Unmarried boys and girls freely mix together but no general pre-marital license is recognised by the society. The boys behave quite decently with the maids and mutual selection is generally made by the young people themselves. Chastity is greatly prized by the tribe and intrigues before marriage are seldom found. The girls are calm and sedate and generally passive in their selection and the proposal always emanates from the bridegroom or his people. There is no intrusion marriage amongst the Kōṛwās, nor are there many cases of disappointed love. Every woman except the mother and sister is an eligible bride for a young man while with the exception of father and brother and the father's brothers if any, every young man is an eligible bridegroom for a girl. Though there seems to be no prohibited degrees in marriage, marital selection is not at all easy or simple as is apparent from the cilcle of possible alliance. There is hardly any avoidance practised in the Kōṛwā society and men and women mix and move freely without the slightest restriction.

As there are few prohibited degrees is marriage, marriage is possible between very close relations. But still every Kōṛwā does not or cannot marry. He has to pay the brideprice, he has to maintain his family and this is no easy job for him. The land he possesses does not afford him subsistence throughout the year, the little he earns by service suffices not for his daily needs, besides

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he has to pay the interest of the debt which he has inherited from his father or has himself incurred. So he must remain a celebrate all through his life. But wherever widow marriage is allowed, concubinage must be prevalent and the Kōṛwās take it as a matter of course. So permanent celebates usually keep women as concubines but they are not held in esteem by the society. Illegitimate children are not admitted into society so that as soon as any child is expected, the couple concerned are obliged to go through a form of marriage which removes the stigma of illegitimacy from the offspring of the concubinage.

Cross-causin marriage, levirate, sorrorate, marriage with mother's sister, father's sister, granddaughter, all kinds of neice except father's own brother's daughter are possible amongst the Kōṛwas. There is no such thing as obligatory marriage as amonst some section of the tribal population in the Deccan, where a man must marry his maternal uncle's daughter or his father's sister's daughter and no other marriage is possible without the permission of the maternal uncle or father's sister. Customs point to the fact that amongst the Kōṛwās cross cousin marriage was a customary form of marriage in earlier days for even now traces of avunculate are discernible. The mother's brother not only takes an active interest in the marriage of his nephew, he receives some presents from his nephew at the time of the latter's marriage. This is regarded as obligatory and no marriage is possible without this exchange of for-

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malities. The mother's brother has also to offer certain presents to the nephew which must be received before the nephew sets out to marry. At present the custom is only a formal one and actual exchange of presents is not very much insisted upon. But the mother's brother takes a very active part in the ceremony. There is another custom observed by the Kōṛwās which strengthens the position of the mother's brother. The bride and the bridegroom after marriage must not enter the latter's house unless they have spent a night in the maternal uncle's house. This may be a survival of matrilocal residence for after all cross-cousin marriage is a relic of matriarchal form of social organisation.

There are only two forms of marriage prevalent amongst the Kōṛwās. One is the ordinary form of marriage known as Biwah, the other is a form of widow marriage known as sagai. Both the forms are popular amongst the Kōṛwās. A widower will never marry a maiden but will seek a widow. The bride price is generally generally higher in the case of widow marriage for both the widow and her relations are to be satisfied. The relations of the widow receive only a small portion of the bride-price, the major portion has to be paid to the widow who herself fixes the price. The widow's share consists of ornaments and clothes and a few coins a small portion of which is spent on offerings to the village godlings and ancestral spirits. In case of Biwah ceremony, the maternal uncle of the

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bridegroom makes the preliminary negotiations in which he is helped by the friends of the bridegroom. The latter direct the maternal uncle in such a way that he is led to choose the girl, the youngman would like to marry without of course his knowing or even suspecting it. As soon as the bride-price is fixed and the parties agree to the match, invitation is sent by the bridegroome's party to the bride's people who may come to see the bridegroom. If the bridegroom is known to the bride's party no such formality is observed and an auspicious day is selected when the ceremony is fixed to take place. On the appointed day, the bridegroom's party start for the bride's village or ṭōlā and on their way they carefully note the omens which they interpret before they reach their destination. Once the procession starts no withdrawal from the marriage is possible but in order to counteract the influence of bad omens, elaborate arrangements are made to propitiate the village godlings to whom sacrifices are made by the village Baiga. In course of the sacrifice, *karmas* are held in honour of the annoyed spirits, when some member of the party gets possessed and in course of possession, gives out the name of the spirit or spirits which have been offended and whether the offerings have been enough to satisfy the offended spirits. In case the offerings are not adequate, the possessed man gives out what other things are to be offered which of course have to be provided on the spot. The ceremony is held

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at twilight and before the presence of all the villagers.

The ceremony of marriage is quite simple. The bride sits on the lap of her maternal uncle who gives her to the youngman seated on the lap of his maternal uncle. The bridegroom has to rub red lead on the forehead of the bride and the oldest male member of the bride's village blesses the couple and exhorts them to lead a happy and contented life and be faithful partners in life. The woman is asked not to disgrace the family to which she is adopted, to respect and obey the parents of the bridegroom or his guardians, to help the family of her spouse in all possible ways to rear healthy children and to desist from any intrigue with any member of the village or any member of a different tribe or caste. She is also advised to bear all hardship and disappointment ungrudgingly and to maintain an even temper in weal or woe. Next, the relatives of the bride throw fried rice on the couple and the latter walk round the marriage post thrice after which the couple are conducted to a sequestered but at one extremity of the village. Here they enjoy each other's company without any disturbance from the relatives and friends on either side. The earlier practice was to conduct the pair to some jungle to spend the wedding night. The rest of the bridegroom's party are treated to a feast, after which *karmas* are held througqout the night and are even continued late in the day following. In the morning, the new couple take part in the dances where they display their skill, and relations

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and friends on both sides witness the gala performance. The guests are again treated to a feast in the morning after which the bride's people leave for their village or respective tolas.

The sanctity of conjugal life amongst the Kōṛwās should not be estimated by the absence of any elaborate rites in marriage. The wife is always faithful to her husband, and it is only on rare occasions that a woman is involved in any intrigue during the life-time of her husband. Though marriage amongst the Kōṛwās is a social ceremony where bride and bridegroom promise to live together as man and wife and no religious ceremony in particular is peformed to sanctify the wedding, yet it is regarded as sacrosanct and no estrangement is possible or permissibe. Of course, divorce is allowed but it is taken recourse to on rare occasions. The relation between the different members of the house is smooth and cordial and the women of the household are seen to maintain an even temper which minimises the risks of family dissensions. As in the social life of the comunity, so also in domestic life, there is perfect harmony and equipoise and but for the absence of interests consequent upon the stress of their economic life, the Kōṛwā family would have been an ideal one.

The attitude of evil spirits has been very much overestimated by the Kōṛwās and they are always afraid of witches, sorcerores, Baigas, Ojhas, Patharis, Bhagats who are the votaries of innumerable spirits and shades of the departed and who by regular and periodic communication with them can

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control their activities and can set these mischievous spirits against the Kōṛwās and their cattle, escape from whose wrath is believed to be rather impossible. These intermediaries generally belong to different tribes who are hostile to the Kōṛwās and the latter attempt to keep them in good humour lest they might chastise them. This has been cited as one of the causes of the absence of interest in life usually displayed by the Kōṛwās, described elsewhere. *The Bhagats, Patharis, Baigas Ojhas wield considerable influence in this part of the country and they receive undue attention from the people.

Disease and death are ascribed mostly to the malign influence of spirits who are set by their devotees to chastise particular families for real or imaginary offences. In case of sickness or epidemic, the Kōṛwās approach the village Baiga who offers milk and *ghee* and *gūṛ* and sacrifice fowls or goats whichever is believed to be demanded by the spirit or spirits concerned. Besides these offerings and sacrifices, the Baigas also use certain medicines which are known to the people but they cannot use them directly and the Baiga has to be consulted and it is he alone who can impart charm or efficacy to the herb or root. So, the herb or root used as medicine in the Kōṛwā country is not believed to possess any healing or curative property by itself but derives the same only when the Baiga works on it and imparts magical properties to it. Fortunately a change in their attitude to these medicinal plants and roots is being noticed amongst

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some sections of the Kōṛwā population and they have began to use freely these medicines as specifics for certain ailments. But it is doubtful whether they will be able to correctly estimate the role of the Baiga or medicinemen in their sickness or distress which is sapping their life-blood.

Death is regarded as a metamorphosis and it is at death that man is transformed into a spirit. whose attitude to the survivors has to be interpreted by the Baiga. Persons who wielded considerable influence during their lifetime, become, when dead, powerful spirits and demand great attention from the people. The role of the disincarnated souls is a matter of great speculation amongst the people but it is generally believed that the soul is always loath to leave its body and does not like to remain in the cremation ground for long, so the Kōṛwās place thorns and stones round the spot where the body is cremated and offer food for a number of days so that the spirit might get accustomed to the new habitation and become friendly to the service.

Thus the cycle of life among the Kōṛwâs, as among other peoples, is characterised by a system of social observances which includes all the ceremonies connected with pregnancy, birth, name-giving, cutting the first hair, boring the ear, filling the teeth, tattooing, mutilations and cicatrices, puberty, marriage and betrothal,—ceremonies which require the smooth and efficient co-operation of the different units of the society. Man at every stage of his existence, from savagery to civilisation, has attempted

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to solve the mystery surrounding the principal events of human life,—birth, marriage and death and at every stage of his progress, he has developed a system of beliefs and rites which has offered a solution to the problems he was faced with. These beliefs and rites have undergone considerable change with greater complexity and higher expectation of life, with every change of man's physical and social environment, yet much of these have come to stay owing to the nature of the problem and the absence of any agreement between the metaphysical speculations of different cultures. To the primitive man however the problems were not so intricate as they are now and so we find practically the same conceptions regarding birth, marriage and death amongst people of the lower culture in all parts of the globe. This uniformity of beliefs is a product of a particular stage of culture associated with tribal life everywhere. Primitive man conceived society as composed of constantly recurring units which left little scope to invent any complex system of metaphysics. Birth was taken as a matter of course, because the soul after death hovered round the family burial ground and seized the earliest opportunity of gracing the family it had left in the role of the new-born child and thus no particular anxiety was felt by primitive man to explain the cause of conception or birth. The ancestor would often reveal its identity in dream or through some intermediary and thus there is little difficulty in naming the child for the name of particular ancestor was automatically given to the child. No elaborate system of education for the

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child was deemed necessary because the child would itself unfold the experiences of its previous birth. Customs and taboos derived an additional sanctity because nothing can be done by the child which was not done by the ancestor whose reincarnated self it was. Marriage is an universal institution which may have developed in different directions in different areas but the pairing instinct is certainly born with man. Death perhaps excited the greatest solicitude in the mind of primitive man but as soon as beliefs in the existence of soul after death, reincarnation or transmigration were establisqed, the tension of feelings was released and death too was not regarded as a strange or inexplicable phenomen. Thus instead of any horror associated with death, we find an elaborate attempt in primitive society to avoid the stage immediately after death, when the soul is transformed into spirit and can live without the body. The visible unit of society is transformed into an invisible one, the activities of which have always been misunderstood and thus we find in every primitive society an elaborate code of conduct which restricts the free movement of the survivors.

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III. RELIGIOUS LIFE AMONGST THE RAWALTTAS.

By Surendra Dutt Bahuguna,
Communicated
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Note.—The present article is written by Mr. Bahuguna a student of the Lucknow University, who offered a thesis on the Ethnography of the Rawalttas for his M. A. degree in Economics and Sociology. The author himself belongs to Rawain, the country of the Rawalttas, and was sent by the Department of Economics and Sociology to study the Economic life of the people.

Rawain is the northern part of the Ghārwal state. To the north of Rawain lies the state of Bishar, to the west lie Jaunsar and Ramgarh and to the east and south are Taknor, Barahat and Jaunpur which are different parts of the Gharwal State. It is shut off by high mountain ranges from all sides. Rawain is close to the snow-clad mountains and therefore receives numerous streams and rivulets. The river Jumna has its source in this region and passes through it meandering along and forming a beautiful valley.

The Rawalttas are a sturdy people whose history has long been forgotten. Some say that they have come from the plains, others trace them as the original inhabitants of Rawain. The official version identifies them with or 'luṭerās' robbers. From their traditional lore and recent past history we know that they are a turbulent race, given to robbery and pillage and are very difficult to deal

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with. Very often they are seen to revolt against the State of Gharwal and they have to be placated by yielding to their forceful demands. Thus the Rawalttas enjoy some privileges which are denied to their compatriots in other parts of the State. They have been allowed to ferment liquor for their own use, which the State contractors do for other inhabitants of the State. The political solidarity manifested by these people in their social organisation has been responsible for the survival of much of their indigenous customs and practices, for they enjoy an isolation seldom interfered with by other people from the plains or from the State itself. It was with great difficulty and extreme caution that the State succeeded in depriving the Thokdars who were virtually independent chiefs, of much of their undue privileges. The Thokdars exercised such a tremendous influence over the people that, at an hour's notice, they could marshal all the men under them and could engage them in any task they wanted them to undertake. This political solidarity has no doubt been broken in recent years but the social solidarity which originally confined itself to a single village still persists and the loss of power and prestige of the Thokdars has added to the powers and duties af the Sayanas or headmen of villages and 'pairs', their assistants, who are generally recruited from low caste people.

The physical features of the Rawalttas would seem to affiliate them to the Mongoloid stock but they cannot be claimed as a pure type. Their physical features have undergone considerable change

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and there are some traits discernible amongst them which may be safely traced to the Dravidian racial type.

The present paper describes the social and economic life of an interesting people living in a secure asylum which is closed by high mountain ranges on all sides and which like a gigantic fortress has refused admission to outsiders so that the cultural traits and patterns described here are more or less free from any blending with elements introduced from higher cultures. The only source of admixture is the contact with State officers and the host of pilgrims who annually flock to Jamnotri and it is to the latter that may be traced the diffusion of Hindu ideas and customs which have no doubt been assimilated by the people and particularly their women folk into their cultural pattern.

D. N. Majumdar.

Religious Life (Beliefs).

Generally in every village there is a temple where the village godling is installed. The priest in charge daily offers *pūjā* (worship) to the deity. Early in the morning he comes to the temple with a *gayar* (pot) of fresh water. He sprinkles the contents over the image of the deity and other articles in the room. Then he lights the *deva* (*dīp*) and applies *pithain* and *ākshat* (vermilion and wet-rice) on the head of the deity. After this he burns some incense on an iron pot called *Dhupanu* and shows it round the deity and after uttering a few chants finishes the *pūjā*. At the time of *pūjā* the *Ḍhāki*

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(a low-caste man who beats the drum) always comes to the temple to beat the drums.

Priesthood.

It is the duty of the village priest to perfom daily *pūjā* in the temple. In every religious festival he has to be present and perform all the necessary ceremonies. In return for the services he is given the right to keep for himself the offerings made to the deity, and at harvest time every family gives him some proportion of its harvest called '*dādwār*'. When any goat or sheep is sacrificed the head of the animal goes to the priest.

Priesthood is hereditary and when there are many sons of a priest they offer *pūjā* in turns and the offerings made on their own turns are individually appropriated and the *dadwar* is distributed equally among them. If any one does not come on his turn he loses the right of office. So when sub-division increases only those who are more needy care to stick to the office.

Gods.

Most of the village gods are borrowed from the Hindu mythology such as Pāṇḍu, Bhairu, Hanuman, Narsingh, Sameshar, Kalī, Bhīm etc. Some are called merely as village gods. But the god who is almost universally worshipped is Masu whose home is located in the Eatehparbat. It is believed that there are four Masu brothers occupying different parts. The eldest brother's name is Buthmasu whose seat is in Anol, the birth-place of all the brothers. The second brother is the Chaldamasu who is always travelling from one

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place to another. The third is the Basakmasu who is in Bangan. Their mother is 'Deolary' whose temple is in Mahendranath in the British territory. Though they are said to be of human origin and are taken as four brothers they are worshipped as one god and they are ordinarily styled as Masu and are taken to present four figures. The statue of Masu, which is an effigy of a man with sword in hand in Anol and other parts is made of gold. Only the priest can see the head, Masu is thought to be the ruler of all minor gods and spirits and hence is worshipped in all religious festivities. He is the god of wealth and prosperity and chastises his devotees whenever occasion arises by inflicting diseases, misery and disappointment, but he is also prone to recognise merit, and rewards men with happiness, health and affluence. He is also omnipotent. This extraordinary power which he is believed to possess attracts people from all places, and worship and offerings flow to his temple. The birth-place of Masu is regarded as a place of annual pilgrimage where people from all parts of the country, far and near, resort to with offerings and sacrifices.

Heirarchy of Gods.

Besides Masu there are many other gods who are thought to be more powerful than others. These are called Parchādhāri Devatā. This superiority of some over the others is established by the fact that when it is found out by invariable experience that offerings and sacrifices to some particular gods never failed to achieve the desired ends they gain good name among all people and

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are called Parchādhāri which means beneficent. At critical moments they are worshipped by all who firmly believe that their *pūjā* or *yātrā* would not be in vain. But sometimes such a god loses his position and prestige and also the title of Parchādhāri if some consecutive *pūjās* or *yātrās* prove to be inefficacious. Then it is said that he has lost his power and it is believed that pollution has taken place inside or near the temple. The most common causes of pollution are said to be visits of menstruant women or the entrance into the temple of some low caste people.

Antagonism and Friendship between Gods.

Leaving the *Parchādhāri devatās* and the gods who are commonly worshipped in the villages, generally people do not worship the gods of other villages. They think that the gods of a particular village is partial to its own village-people and and drives away all bad spirits towards other villages. It is believed that one village god is envious of the others. So they are antagonistic to each other and the god of one village will not do good to the people of a second village.

But in case one village is friendly to another, the gods of both the villages also have friendship between them and both try to do good to the people of both the villages and it is strange to find that the gods will also establish relations with the village people. We noticed at one place where *Mitē devta* (the god of friendly village) was saying through the mouth of a medium, (the person whose body he enters and through whom he speaks) "I am

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your *Mitē devata* therefore your *mitē*, I cannot do evil to you. My cares are centred on you all, related as you are to my village."

Methods of gaining favour of gods.

Generally gods are believed to be beneficient and kind towards men. They are interested in the well-being of those who place themselves under their protection. Though sometimes *devatās* (gods) also get enraged for which they have to be appeased, it is more for getting favours than to avoid their wrath that people have to approach them. If the gods are pleased they protect people from the evil influence of spirits and make them prosperous. To ensure health, and the good graces of the gods, or in order to propitiate them, Mandan, Pūjā Yātrā and sacrifices are taken recourse to.

Mandan.

It is the dance of the gods. In order to please the gods, Mandan is arranged and is continued for about a week. They believe that gods like to dance and so enter the bodies of men or women (inspire them) in order to dance through them for their own enjoyment and happiness. So by arranging Mandan the people give opportunity to gods to dance and be pleased. But all men cannot be the medium for a god's dance. Only a few obtain divine inspiration by a god's entrance into their bodies which makes them dance spontaneously without any effort on their part. A particular day is fixed for Mandan and on that night all people of the village gather in the yard of the temple. The people who are noted for receiving divine inspiration are given seats in

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the middle. Vermilion and wet rice are applied on their heads. Then drums are beaten and after a short time all of them begin to shake and stand up and dance. In the course of their dance each of them makes some remarks pertaining to the village and people in general. They declare what sacrifices and offerings they want and whether they are satisfied or not. If some necessary sacrifices or offerings are omitted they will make complaints of it and their demands are readily complied with by the people. For a week every night the gods dance through these persons and are pleased with the people of the village and it is believed that they would surely gain their favour.

Detection of Divine Inspiration.

In the Mandan the person who feels that inspiration, for the first time, is at once detected by the crowd. First of all his whole body shivers mildly, then he moves his head up and down and gradually with greater and greater vigour and force for a short time, half closing his eyes as if not being in his proper senses. The expression of his face is also changed and he looks as if he is dead drunk due to this trance. Then he stands up and begins to dance and proceeds forward to join the dancing party. Others welcome him and receive him embracing. The person does not recognise his own identity and speaks every thing 'in the person' of the god whom he has incarnated like the oracle of Delphi. He makes some observations and gives expression to his demands. After being fully satisfied by the

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dance the god in the person of the medium expresses its desire to retire and at this moment all present touch the feet of the dancer. The god leaves the body and the person drops down senseless. It is after sometime and with great difficulty that the equilibrium of mental condition is restored. The teeth get clinched and the hands become stiff and it is only with force that his hands are bent and mouth opened.

Such a person tries to lead a comparatively more pious life and generally makes one bangle in the name of the god who enters his body and wears it on his right hand. The bangle on the right hand is taken as the sign of piety and indicates that the person is a fit medium or intermediary between man and god.

Uthanu.

Another way of seeking the help of gods is though *Uthānu.* If any family member is ill or one finds oneself in some difficulty one would tie up some coin in a piece of cloth with vermilion and wet rice or set apart some articles in the name of some god in order to them offer to the god if one is rescued from the difficulty or recovered from illness. While tying the coin or setting the article apart, the person would pray to the god saying that if he would help him to get out of the difficulty he would offer it to him. When one is caught or involved in some difficulty or some one falls dangerously ill, this practice is often resorted to.

Pūjā.

It is a general form of pleasing gods. One would gather different kinds of food stuff and many

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other articles which one can afford and add coooked things to them, then would take them all to the temple of god. He would first offer vermilion to the gods and then other articles. The priest would take them near the image, with the belief that by doing so the god accepts the offerings and so is pleased with the person who offers them. The priest gives some vermilion in return which is preserved carefully.

Yatra.

When some calamity is of a very grave nature and it is found out that the village god cannot help them materially and Mandan, Uthanu and Puja fail to achieve any good result, the help of some distant Parchadhari *Devatā* is sought. A man is sent to that devata with some offerings, and he promises before the image of the god that if he would save them from the difficulty they would worship him at his own place, which is Yatra. If the danger is averted they would go to the temple of the god with many offering and presents and would worship him at his own place with great comp and show.

Sacrifices.

Another way of worshipping or appeasing gods is by the offer of sacrifices. It is believed that nothing can please gods more than sacrifices; and it is believed to be the sure means of gaining their favour. No other animal is offered in sacrifices except he-goat and he-buffalo. But generally goats are preferred, for all can share their flesh

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whereas the flesh of buffaloes can only be taken by low-caste people. When a goat is taken to the temple to be sacrificed, vermilion and wet rice are put on its head. Then a little water is sprinkled over its body and naturally the goat will shiver on the application of cold water to its body, but the shivering is taken to be the sign of the god's acceptance of the offering. If it does not shiver or tremble, every means is applied to cause shivering. It is very interesting to find that they would even pour water into the ears of the poor animal to make it shiver and then it is believed to be accepted by the god and is sacrificed. The head of the goat is given to the priest and the rest of the body is distributed among all the village people.

Significance of these practices.

However absurd and unscientific these practices and beliefs might appear to a man of modern light and learning, yet, they have a great survival value in these regions where people have little faith in human agencies and are sorely dependant on supernatural powers. If any man falls ill it is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit or the annoyance of some god and their firm belief is that no medicine can cure him if the spirit or god is not appeased. Under such ignorance of biological and physical laws the period of suspense caused by calamities such as epidemics or failure of rain would have been very difficult to pass. It is said that deaths caused in the time of famines in India are not so much due to the actual want of food as they are to the mere apprehension of the want

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of food. So we find that in critical times such psychological reasons also play a very important part. But as these people cannot think of any other real cause for the failure of rains or illness or any other calamity and attribute them entirely to supernatural agency, these beliefs and practices serve the purpose of preventing or at least aiding them to tide over critical periods in their lives.

Belief in the Justice of God.

Their life is so much controlled by a faith in supernatural agency that it is not rare to hear from men that big disputes could be decided with the help of some god or spirit whose justice could not be questioned. An old man related a story that once there arose a dispute in his village between two persons. One alleged against the other that he had burnt his *chhān* (cattle-shed). The villagers made them agree to go to the village god for justice. The method of ascertaining the guilt was thus related. Two big balls of wet flour were prepared, of equal size. Inside one, a silver ring was kept, in the other an iron one. Both were kept in an earthen vessel. The vessel was taken to the temple of god and the men prayed the god to intervene. It was agreed that he who would choose the ball with the iron ring would be deemed guilty. The alleged guilty person proceeded forward and took one ball from inside the vessel, and was opened before all and was found that there was the iron ring. He was held guilty and was made to pay compensation for the loss of the other party. Such cases might be rare

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now but still the faith in the supernatural agency has not diminished and plays a role great in their daily life.

Surki. Kas, and Deobujhonu.

Even now when there is a Court for administering civil and criminal justice and state officials have penetrated into the most distant parts of the region, this supernatural agency has not been ignored in proving specially some civil cases. If there is a case of monetary transaction and there is not sufficient evidence the Court allows the people to take recourse to oaths and ordeals. The defendant will keep the sum of money before the image of Kāli or any other *Parchādhari devata* and the plaintiff will take the money. This is called taking money on 'Kas.' Or if the defendant should insist that he had given the money he would 'Surki' before the *devata* to prove that he had paid the debt. 'Surki' is water sanctified by dipping into it the feet of the *devata*. Another method is called *Deobujhonu*. The plaintiff will burn the lamp in the temple of the *devata* and the defendant will put out the lamp in proof of the honesty of his defence. It is firmly believed that if the man who is guilty does any of these will turn insane or some great calamity will fall on him or his family or he himself may die or any other untoward thing may happen to him. We ourselves saw a person who was mad and we were told that he became mad because he had drunk Surki falsely.

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Devata Ku dos.

It is believed that gods get annoyed if usual sacrifices, offerings, or *puja* are not performed and specially when any body offers an *Uthanu* for the redress of some calamity and if he does not fulfil his promise even after being relieved of the troubles he is chastised by the god and some greater calamity must befall him. This is said to be Deva Ku Dos. (the anger or wrath of god). The only way to get out of this is to offer prayers and sacrifices to the offended god.

Ghat.

If somebody does wrong to another and the latter takes offence and loudly abuses the offender in very strong terms, such as, that his son may die, or he may die, or his line of descent may be destroyed etc., and strikes his one palm against the other invoking some god to ruin him, such an abuse accompanied with the beating of palms and invocation is called *Ghāṭ*. It is believed to be very effective and so people fear it much and never give offence to anybody who might abuse in that fashion. And some people are noted for their very effective *Ghāṭ* and are very much feared, with the result that no one ventures to quarrel with them for fear of their *Ghāṭs* which are believed to be fatal.

Narsin.

Among the gods Narsin is thought to be a great destroyer and easily invoked to ruin people. If one has sustained loss in his cattle or if any woman does not have safe delivery, such misfor-

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tune will also be attributed to some one's invoking Narsin against the family. In the local dialect it will be said that 'Youn ku Narsin Lagun Chh'. Those who are noted for the effective *Ghaṭs* are similarly powerful in invoking Narsin agaist any one whom they might bear some grudge. *Ghaṭ* differs from invoking Narsin mainly in the fact that the former is performed in the public while the latter is noted for the secrecy of the invocation and the person who has invoked Narsin. The person is detected either by merely a guess work or he might be known from some *Baki* (secret divine). The remedy for this is to give offerings and sacrifices to Narsin and perform some special *puja*. Some rice and wheat is put in it and at night-fall it placed in the middle of a public thoroughfare. It is believed that by such process the Narsin goes back to his own place relieving the people adversely affected by him.

Baki.

Among the persons who are possessed by gods, a few are called Baki. Such persons when possessed foretell events and can also disclose all activities of the people, secret or overt. Any such person who sees signs of his becoming a *Baki* and feels some inward force indicating that he would become a *Baki* would lead a pious life. He would not touch any man of lower caste and will not cut the hair of his head and will daily worship the god who is believed to enter his body. Every morning he would sit at a quiet corner of his house where he will keep some symbol of the

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god and will meditate there. By his continuous meditation he acquires the power to make the god enter his body any time in the morning before he takes food.

The god when he enters his person, will answer any question put to him. When the people learn that the man is becoming a *Baki* they gather round him and at the time of his possession put questions about their future or about events unknown. They will be answered by the *Baki* and strangely enough all his remarks are found to be literally correct. The news spreads far and wide that a person has become a *Baki.*

If any person is unexpectedly detained anywhere and all his family members are anxious about him, they will send some one with offerings and sacrifices to the *Baki.* The man will straight off go to the *Baki* early in the morning and tell him nothing more than that he wants an answer which is said in the local dialect *Nuro.* The *Baki* will wash his feet and sit before the God applying vermilion and wet rice on his own head. He will then concentrate his attention on the image, after some time he will begin to swing to and fro which is the indication that the god has entered his body. Then he would take in his palm some grains of rice out of these thrown by the person in the dish before him. He will intently watch them and will throw them up and will try to receive some. He will again see them and after a few seconds will address the person and tell him that he came to ask what had happened to his

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brother. Again he will take some more grains of rice and repeat the same process of throwing them up and receiving some, many times, after which he will divine the cause of the delay. It might be illness, business or some other cause and he will also say what will happen.

By our enquiries we found that the divination is always successful provided he is a real *Baki* and not a pseudo-*Baki*. The *Baki* can also point out whose Narsin is creating trouble for a particular person or family and can also drive away evil spirits from the body of a possessed person or from a haunted house. He can also give out the identity of the person who has stolen something but the courts do not take any recognition of such statements and evidence.

Spirits and Ghosts.

Besides gods who are generally thought to be kind and interested in the well-being of man, other supernatural powers such as spirits and ghosts which are believed to be agencies to create evil, have also a great sway on their life. They assume the existence of a world of spirits around them who are always on the look-out for man's failings. This invisible world of beings is composed of two kinds of spirits. One set of spirits are created by gods and the other is composed of souls of persons who die an unnatural death either through accident or some epidemic. They are differently designated as *Bhut*, *Daint*, *Ragas*, *Bhaigas*, or *Achhri*. But the first and the last are more commonly used. These people have got numerous

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stories of the experiences with *Bhuts* which if some one would feel inclined to believe is sure to be very cautious about his person in these far-off, dreadful, awe-inspiring lands specially when one is out at night.

The ghosts are sometimes indentified and associated with the Will-O'-the-wisp: they also believe in stone throwing or in nightly calls by these supernatural beings which their fears and imagination conjure up. The method generally taken recourse to by *Bhuts* to chastise people is by entering the person of some people and showing signs of being possessed. When a man is thus possessed, the people seek the aid of a *Baki* or any man whose body is visited by some god. Such a person will be called and he will invoke the god to enter his body. Then the god will ask the spirit (*Bhut*) possessing the person what it wants. If the god thinks that the demands are not unreasonable such as some food etc., he would ask people to give those things to it and will command it to leave the person. If the *Bhut* is obstinate the *Baki* will take some grains of rice in his hand and will mutter some incantations over them to make the grain charmed and will strike them at the person. This is called '*Tara*'. He will make loud and vociferous sounds and will threaten it with chastisement and will go on striking in the same manner till the *Bhut* gets frightened and leaves the person. If it is driven in this way only a kind of food called Khichro (rice and pulse cooked in oil) will be offered to it. Then the *Baki* will give some grains

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of rice to the person to keep them with him in order to protect him in future. In this way powerful *Bhuts* are exorcised.

Chhya :—It is believed that there are some spirits which are harmless to men and women in general but can only harm children and pregnant women. If any such spirit influences a baby or a pregnant woman it is called Chhya. Such a spirit gets a chance if a baby is taken out to a distant place without any covering over it ; if a woman comes before a baby in a red dress, or if some one comes to it just after taking bath or if somebody combs hair near the baby or if it falls from some higher level or if some body cries loudly near it. So a baby is always guarded against all these things. The effects of Chhya are generally that the baby cries unusually, does not sleep, vomits the milk that is fed, or falls ill. Almost the same causes create Chhya on pregnant women, the effects on them are also similar except that they do not weep or cry.

Rakhwali :—The remedy for Chhya is Rakhwali. There are some words which are known to a few and kept secret; if they are repeated many times before the baby or the pregnant woman it is believed that the evil effect is removed. This forms the chief part of Rakhwali. Its whole procedure is as follows. The man who knows the secret words or charms takes some *Kharo* (ashes) in his palm and while uttering the words silently revolves his hand round the head of the person and blows the *Kharo* from his palm. In this way he repeats the process many times. After that he gives some

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Kharo (ashes) to be kept with the person. It is believed that such a process which is called Rakhwali frees the baby or the pregnant woman from the influence of the spirit and is a sure remedy to cure the evil effects of Chhya. As a preventive for Chhya, pregnant women wear enchanted iron rings and a tooth of tiger is tied round the neck of a baby.

Hak:—If any stranger looks at a baby while being fed and after that if it shows signs of illness or any other symptom it is thought to be due to the evil eye of the person and is called 'Hak'. Its remedy is also sought in Rakhwali.

Ghadiyalu:—If a young woman always seems ill and does not give birth to any child or if her issue do not survive, the cause is attributed to the influence of some spirit. In order to get rid of its influence, Ghadiyala is arranged. It is a method of invoking the spirit responsible for the mischief to come on the woman and dance; it is made to dance and speak out its demands through the woman. The whole process of Ghadiyalu is as follows :— A Ghadiyala, the person who knows Ghadiyalu would place a dish of *Kansh* (bell-metal) over an earthen vessel. In a dish some vermilion and wet rice will be kept. The woman after taking bath will keep her hair dishevelled and will sit close in front of the Ghadiyala who will begin to strike on the dish with two sticks making a rhythmic sound and will chant some invocations. He will allure the spirit to dance and speak out whatever it wants ; that is the

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purport of his incantations. The sound of the beating of the dish and the peculiar singsong tone in which the spirit is invoked allures it to dance. The woman, who is all the while waiting for the spirit to enter her body, naturally soon begins to shiver; and that is the indication that spirit has apeared. The Ghadiyala will apply vermilion on her fore-head and will begin to beat the dish with greater rapidity. Then the shaking will increase and she will stand up and begin to dance and will reveal all that the spirit wants. The Ghadiyala will make all the necessary enquiries from the spirit. Others present can also ask whatever they like and the spirit replies to all. If it is a spirit of some deceased member of the family, for instance, that of the former wife of the husband of the woman who had left some issue behind, the spirit will embrace them, if they be present, which is called *Bhintenu* and it will express satisfaction. It is the belief of the people that the spirit of a deceased woman who dies in an anxiety for her young children craves to dance only to get an opportunity to embrace the dear ones she had left behind. So in order to compel the family members to arrange for its dance it affects some woman adversely in the family. When the spirit is given chance to dance by arranging Ghadiyalu and all the offerings and sacrifices demanded are given to it, it gets satisfied and stops creating any trouble to any one in the family.

Kilonu:—If stones are thrown at any particular house at night it is believed to be the work of

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some evil spirit. The remedy for it is "Kilonu". It is a recitation of charmed formulas which possess the efficacy of warding off the malign influence. The man who knows the necessary formulas of Kilonu would first fix some iron nails at the four corners of the house and then chant the magical formulas and it is believed that no spirit can do any injury to the house.

Village Protection:— In order to protect a village from the influence of evil spirits the people take recourse to 'Astbali' which means that eight sacrifices will be made. Round the village in five directions five places are selected which are generally situated on the roads leading out of the village. At each place a bamboo stick is bent double and both its ends are fixed in the ground so as to make a gate over the way. A long stone like a Menhir, the upper end of which is made somewhat round resembling a human head, is also fixed on one side of the gate. Some faces are roughly carved and some marks called '*Chakra*' are made on it. A wooden effigy of monkey is tied to the other side of the bamboo. Two small flat pieces of wood and stone with 'chakras' carved on them are also tied in the middle. A big hole is dug in the earth at each of the five places. At one place a goat is sacrificed and buried in the hole and is covered with mud. At another a sheep is sacrificed and buried. A hen is used at the third and a pig at the fourth and at the last place a pumpkin is cut with a sword and buried likewise. The priest utters some incantations at every place and

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after this all people gather in the temple yard. A goat is sacrificed in the name of the village god and a 'Gindoro' (a vegetable) and a sheep are waved round the heads of all present and then the 'Gindoro' is cut to pieces and the sheep is also sacrificed. The goat sacrificed in the name of god, is distributed among all present and the sheep and the 'Gindoro' are given to the low caste people. This kind of 'Astabli' is believed to make the village immune from the evil influence of spirits. The effect of 'Astabali' lasts for a year only and if it is not repeated again the spirits become as powerful as before. People do not perform 'Astabali' every year as it is a cumbrous prossess and also expensive, and so it is resorted to only when they find that many persons in the village are being affected by spirit.

Diseases:—Diseases and epidemics are believed to be caused by evil spirits who must be propitiated by sacrifices at regular intervals. In their daily life they have to offer a portion of the food they partake of, to the spirits so that the latter may not get annoyed.

River Spirits:—Spirits are believed to preside over some rivers and streamlets, who require a toll of human sacrifice every year. So the cases of drowning in these rivers are thus explained.

Mansbag:—There is also another strong belief among them that there are some men who with the help of some magic and incantation can take any shape they like. When they want to trouble men they take the shape of tigers and devour

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men and men alone. It is believed that they would mix with men in the day time and in the night would become tigers and kill them. Such tigers are called *Mansbag* (man-eaters) because they would leave cattle and kill only men. If they are killed when they are tigers they cannot reappear in any shape and become *Bhuts.*

Dain:—Ḍāin are sorceresses but they always conceal their identity. They are believed to possess power over some spirits and to know such magical devices that they can harm or harass any person they like. It is reported that a *ḍāin* once publicly showed her power by consuming all the substance from within a lemon without displacing the outer covering. When the lemon was cut it was found to be empty. The people believe that a *ḍāin* can kill a man in the same way as she can consume a lemon. Even State officials are cautious while visiting places where dains are reported to live. They would not take cooked food prepared by the local men for fear of some charms, as it is believed that by taking such food the person loses his senses. Curd is the popular food of the locality so it is through curds that a *ḍāin* can easily exercise her evil influence on any person taking it. The test for the immunity of curds from any witchcraft is to mix salt with it, for the belief is that if it is acted upon by some *ḍāin*, it will turn into blood, though of course no evidence of any eye-witness could be fouud of such a case in which curds turneds into blood. But an old Patwari (a petty revenue officer) related to us his

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own story regarding a *ḍāin*. He once compelled a woman to give grass for his horse against her will, inspite of being dissuaded by some village people not to force her for fear of being harmed as she was reported to be a *ḍāin* and the result was that the horse fainted and died. It was after a good deal of entreaties and supplications that the *ḍāin* was persuaded to bring back the horse, to life the *ḍāins* were terriably dressed in the past but now their number has rapidly decreased within the last two decades and it is rarely that one finds any such *ḍāin*.

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IV. MARRIAGE AND MARITAL LIFE AMONGST THE RAWALTTAS.

By S. D. Bahugune, M. A.
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Different forms of marriage,—polyandry, polygyny and monogamy are all found amongst these people.

Polyandry:—It is very common on the border line of Jaunsar where it is the only form of marriage. In Rawain it is a recognised institution. The Jaunsares are not ashamed to admit frankly that they practise the polyandrous system of marriage; on the contrary they are proud of the system which helps them to save their joint properties from partition and sub-division. This is the main reason which they advance in favour of this system of marriage. But in Rawain, the people who have come in contact with outsiders in the neighbourhood of Barkot (the civil headquarters) will not freely admit to a stranger that they practise polyandry. And as this form of marriage is looked down upon by the floating population in the headquarters, it is beginning to get out of fashion among the people, especially living close to Barkot. But in distant parts no stigma of inferiority it attached to it.

The polyandry in this area is of the fraternal type where several brothers share one wife. Even

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five or six brothers are found to keep only one wife.

Polygyny :—Side by side with polyandry, there is found polygamy, and great latitude is allowed in the selection of wives. If a man happens to possess no brothers, he will generally try to marry more than two wives and cases are common where the number comes up even to four or five. Polyandry is losing its hold on the society due to contact with outsiders but polygyny is not regarded with disfavour, for the outsiders also practise it.

Besides, they take polygyny as a sign of prosperity, for, as among them marriage is by purchase, only the rich can indulge in the multiplication of wives whereas polyandry is generally associated with poverty.

Cause and effect of polyandry and polygyny :—

As the whole of Rawin is a hilly country full of forests and wild beasts, big families are more conducive to secure living than small ones. Besides, polyandry ensures solidarity and economic collaboration of the family and checks division of the property, the one wife serving as the binder of the family group. Thus, natural conditions have probably determined this form of marriage and domestic organisation. In fact, both polyandry and polygyny have contributed to maintain the integrity of the family group. In the former, all the brothers live together, whereas in the latter a number of wives become the companions of one single man so as to form a big family. The

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following figures show that the number of women is not much less than that of men in every 'pati'. It is but natural that one form has to be supplemented by the other. So we find the co-existence of both the systems in the same area.

Name of the Pati.	*Males.*	*Females.*
1. Paachgain	1221	1055
2. Fatehparbat	1216	1024
3. Bangan	1334	1265
4. Singtur	991	863
5. Adhormaya Barasu	640	533
6. Corugadmaya Aur	461	577
7. Rama Sirain Meli	2203	2173
8. Rama Sirain Tali	1749	1581
9. Banal maya Dakhiyat	2245	2011
10. Badiyar	580	516
11. Thakral	1652	1516
12. Gith	858	722
13. Bajiri	638	577
14. Barkot maya Panati	1307	1203
15. Mugarsanti	2480	2262
16. Bhandyarsun	1886	1819
Tatal ...	21557	19699

Monogamy :—It is indeed difficult to say whether monogamy is the highest form of mating or there is a correlation between monogamy and high culture. Marriage is universal and monogamy has been found to exist in very low societies too. As man is by nature polygamous, the cycle of marriage begins with monogamy, perhaps, passes through polygamy and reverts to monogamy and the cycle repeats itself. But monogamy amongst

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these people is, to a great extent if not wholly, due to their poverty. When they have begun to look down upon polyandry all cannot adopt polygyny, for, as we have seen the proportion of the sexes is not very unequal. As the bride has to be purchased, and the economic condition of the people is generally unsatisfactory, for whatever they earn they consume, it is only with difficulty that most people can afford to purchase even one wife.

Marriage by Purchase:—Marriage by purchase is the universal system in this area. The price of the bride ranges from Rs. 60 to Rs. 200, and it is only in very special cases that the price goes so high as to six hundred of seven hundred rupees. This system has gained ground owing to the notion prevalent among these people that if the price of the bride is not paid the marriage will not be auspicious. So, in cases, which are no doubt very rare, where the bride's parents do not want to take any sum of money for their girl they will have to accept at least Re 1. as a nominal price for the girl, as otherwise such a marriage will be difficult to arrange.

The considerations which determine the price of the bride are her age, health, and beauty, whereas on the side of the bridegroom are status and age. If a girl is quite young, healthy and beautiful, she will fetch more price for her parents, if she is deficient in any of these requisites, her price will be low. If the bridegroom is old and not a quite well-to-do man in his village, for such

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a man the only attraction can be an offer of a large sum of money. But a man who is young and considered rich can get a wife on a moderate price. The consideration of the man having other wives also weighs in this respect. If a man wants to get a second or third wife, he will have to pay more.

Exogamy.— Barring a few low caste men, generally a village is inhabited by one particular group, the members of which believe in common decent. So they observe village exogamy except when some families have migrated from a different village and marriage is possible between the immigrants and the original settlers. This distinction is made out by their sub-caste names. As for example among Rajputs there are some who call themselves Rāṇās. A Rāṇā cannot marry a Rāṇā girl. But as many persons have no such sub-caste names they depend on village exogamy and the tradition which comes down from father to son that they can only marry with the persons of certain villages. Excluding Ḍōms who are low caste men, most of these people style themselves as Rajputs and very few Brāhmiṇs are found. Nobody calls himself a Vaishya. Within these broad divisions there are no other prohibitions except that there might not be common descent from the father's side. But now the tendency is growing to avoid near relations from mother's side too, especially brothers and sisters.

Marriage Procedure and Ceremony :—When the Father finds that there is a girl of marriageable age in a certain village, generally within

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a distance of from ten to fifteen miles, whom he would like to have as a bride for his son, he would send a man to that village to ask the consent of the father of the girl. If he agrees, the man will settle the price of the girl and will come back to give the happy news to the father of the boy. Then the priest will be approached to fix some auspicious day for the marriage. The priest with the meagre knowledge he possesses of the names of months and days, will fix an auspicious day. On that day the father of the bridgegroom, accompanied by a party consisting of male members, will go to the bride's village with some presents called *Samun* consisting of bread, *pakhoris*, '*swalas*' and curds, He will also take with him the necessary amount of money. When the party reaches the village, it first halts at some other person's house and a messenger comes from the bride's house to escort them to the house of the bride's father. First, they are entertained with tobacco and then food is served to them. Meat and wine are indispensable on these occasions and the party is treated to a sumptuous feast.

Part payment of money.—After the feast, half of the bride-price has to be paid to the father of the girl and the other half reserved for payment when the girl gives birth to a child. In case she turn out to be barren, the rest of the money is not paid. This device of only half payment in the beginning, secures also the full support of the family members of the bride in keeping her at her husband's house, otherwise, as is often the case, the little girl, who is married, does not like the new and strange

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surroundings of her husband's village and as she is not yet sufficiently grown up to feel any attraction for her husband, she often escapes and runs away to her father's village. But there she will not find shelter for more than a day against the wishes of her husband's family for half of the money is still unpaid, so the girl is anyhow sent back to her husband's house, no doubt, with some presents (*Samun*) so that she may not receive harsh treatment there.

When the money is paid, the mother of the girl will bathe her and dress her in new clothes, especially prepared for the occasion. The Aujes (drummers) will be called to beat the drums at the house. Then the mother of the girl will take her to the village temple with some offerings and will pray for all kinds of blessings for her girl. No other ceremony is performed. Then the girl accompanied with her relations and the Aujes go on foot to the bridegroom's village. The number of people accompanying her from her village would generally be double than that which had come from the bridegroom's village. When the bride and the party reach the village of the bridegroom, they are received by all the villagers at the gates of the village. Songs of joy are sung by *Badinis* (female dancers). The Aujes of of the village come with their drums and for some time there is a competition between the Aujes of both parties in playing on this drums. When the bride and her party are taken to the house of the bridegroom, the bride is taken inside the house and the priest places 'Pithain'

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(vermilion) on her forehead and chants some 'Mantras' to make her a suitable companion to her husband. Then the bridegroom will be called in and both the bride and bridegroom will be asked to sit side by side. The priest will bring a goat and revolve it round them for their safety and then it will be sacrificed at the altar of the village god and goddess.

The bride's party will be first entertained with tobacco. After this, food will be served before them. Meat and wine are the chief articles provided for their entertainment. After they have had their fill of meat and wine they pass almost the whole night in rejoicing, singing, dancing and joking. Next morning again they are served with the same kind of food to keep up their spirits. After taking their food they return to their own village carrying some ('*Samun*') of *Swalas* and *Patoras* for their home.

Village Feast. In commemoration of the marriage a grand feast is arranged for the village people. If the man is a well-to-do person he will invite all persons of the village leaving none which is called *Chuli Neuto* (hearth invite) i. e., no one should cook at home for any one. If one has not got sufficient grains, he will collect the required quantity by borrowing (*Painchhu*) from other villages. In case one is very poor such a person will invite one person from every family called Mowar Neuto. Generally the food consists of *Bhāt* (rice), *dal* (pulse), *Biranji* (meat with rice), *Tasmai* (rice with milk), *Swaula* (wheat preparation), *Pakora* (stiff cake-like preparation of pulse),

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Railo (curd with some raw vegetable), vegetables and meat. Wine is also used in abundance, in the preparation of food. In serving or making other arrangements all the villagers extend their help to the host. And every family will send something either of food material or dairy products in order to help the host. *Badinis* (dancing girls) remain singing and dancing throughout the whole time and this increases the charm of the function to a great extent. When the food is ready, a little from every pot will be collected in a dish and will be sent to the temple for the village god. After this some people will loudly call all persons to come and take food. All will sit in long rows in the yards of neighbouring houses. When the feast is over, tobacco is offered. After this, old men of the village see the bride and the bridegroom and bless them with their best wishes.

Peculiar customs in Polyandry :—In most parts where polyandry is prevalent and especially on the border line of Jaunsar, the curious practice prevails that the wife will have always to sleep with the eldest brother when he is at at home. If throughout the year he is at home, the wife cannot sleep with any of the other brothers inspite of the fact that she might like to do so. When the elder brother is absent from home, the wife will sleep with the second brother, when both are out she will sleep with the third and so on. This, at the very first sight, looks an absurd custom, but the tenacity of this custom is so great and it has got such a strong hold upon society that

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inspite of its evident impracticable nature it is followed without any complaint. But the wife will attend all her husbands and serve them equally in pressing their feet, obeying their orders, applying oil on their bodies, bathing them etc. But in other parts they sleep in turn with the wife.

It matters little which of the brothers is the physiological father of the born child. In case there are three brothers, the child will call the eldest one Senior father (Baṛo Babu), the second middle father (Bichlo Babu), and the last one youngest father (Chhoṭo Babu). Hence the physiological father cannot be detected by the terminology of relations.

License :—Premarital license is rare because of the early marriage system. But the matrimonial bond is however loose and adultery is very common. As the village people generally trace their common origin and belong to the same family, most of them stand in relation of brothers to each other. On enquiry it could be ascertained that they do not take it is a great offence if adultery is committed by a brother with his brother's wife however distant he might be related in the village. Such cases are generally overlooked. But adultery between persons not related as brothers is greatly condemned and such persons are out-casted.

Two standards of morality :—They do not tolerate adultery committed by any outsider with their wives. They will not even hesitate to shed the blood of the person charged with such a offence. But while these people are so sensitive as regards

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the honour of their wives, they tolerate their sisters' freedom in social intercourse with outsiders to an extant which is alarming.

Money attraction from outsiders :—As the most valuable forests of *Deodar* and *Çhir* abound in this part of the hills, most of the outsiders have to stay here either on business as contractors or *munshis* or as State servants on duty. The people generally stay here temporarily and cannot bring their families with them. It is this influx of outsiders who have cash in their hands which is responsible for a good deal of corruption in these parts. In those parts of the hills however, where women do not enjoy such freedom as is enjoyed, for instance, by those in Rawain, and might be said to live in *purdā* are as chaste as any one can be.

In fact both prostitution and traffic in girls became such crying evils that the attention of the State authorities has been drawn towards these, and now no girl can leave the State without the permission of the Deputy Collector of the circle.

Chhut. (Divorce).

The form of marriage that is universally prevalent here is that of marriage by purchase. The husband and his party settle the price of the bride and the settled price is paid to the father of the girl. To a casual observer it would seem that this form of marriage will necessarily imply subservient position of woman but this is not the case. The purchase is of a permanent nature and if a woman is subjected to hardship

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and ill treatment she can get rid of her husband and his other family members by arranging a second purchase of herself by some other person who would pay all the price and expenses which were incurred by the former husband of the girl. And this second sale which is called 'Chhuṭ' in the local dialect i. e., leaving the previous husband, is effected in the courts. After the Chhuṭ the girl goes to the house of the new purchaser who is now her new husband. This custom protects the girl against the cruelties of her husband and saves her from the servile life which would be the natural consequence of a permanent sale of woman in marriage.

Device for 'Chhuṭ'.

Though divorce is possible on payment of the money paid by the former husband, there is one condition to be fulfilled before the divorce can be allowed. It is the husband who should agree to leave all his claims over his wife. If he does not agree, the wife cannot get rid of him by any legal method. But in this case he will have to support his wife even if there is no love between them. But generally when any woman wants to get her 'Chhuṭ' allowed by her husband for his being for instance a minor or being cruel to her or again when she has a seducer she will find various pretexts to make herself a nuisance in the household and thus the consent of the husband is easily gained for divorce.

Causes of great number of 'Chhuṭs' :—As in most cases marriage is based on economical considerations,

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early marriage is quite common, the girl being an economic asset both in the field and at home. Thus there is often a great disparity in age between the husband and the wife, an older girl being generally preferred in the household to a younger one. It is not rare to find that a girl is four or five years older than her husband. And as girls reach maturity earlier than the boys there is an incompatibility in the marital relation which is one of the important causes of the increase of divorces.

Superstition again often makes divorce easier. If after marriage some ill luck occurs in the family such as the loss of cattle, the death of a family member etc., the reason for all this is attributed to the advent of the bride and this often leads to divorce. The environment too has made these people rough and unyielding consequently wife and husband would easily quarrel and it often leads to divorce.

Society here is not ridden by a 'male code of ethics' which gives no right to women against their husbands. Their ideal of chaslity does not require the wife to be subservient to the husband's wishes; she is regarded as his equal. No divine sanction is given to the marital relation, and as marriage is based mainly on economic reasons, its continuity also is not guaranteed by a high ethical ideal.

Remarriage at an Advanced age. :—The reason for the remarriage of widows at an advanced age is also to be found in the nature of the country. Though agricultural land is comparatively more fertile here

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than in other parts of the hills owing to the nearness of dense forests, yet the difficulties of communication, the limited area of the cultivable land available, as well as the hard labour involved in field work, make life rather strenuous and precarious. As long as the head of the family is well and alive, the work goes on well since he himself performs the more difficult part of the work such as ploughing, cutting wood in the forests etc., and there is no difficulty whatsoever because whatsoever is earned is consumed. But as these people are lacking in foresight and their numerous social ceremonies and festivals lead to extravagance there is little left with them to fall back upon in times of emergency and need. Land alone remains permanently with them as it cannot be sold according to the State laws and hence they have to depend upon their own hard work in the field and the forest for the supply of their needs year after year. So when the husband dies leaving no sons, the widow finds it very difficult to pull on with her work single-handed. In such cases when economic necessity becomes most pressing, there is no alternative left for the widow, however old, but to court the friendship of some one and marry him so that she might lead a comfortable life. The same necessity also compels old men to marry when there is none to look after them.

* * *

Sex and Marital Life.

The hills of Rawain being in the midst of of Himalayan regions are cold. So, here meat and

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wine form the principal items of diet which can sustain the people in such a climate. Nature is also lavish in the abundance of animals that can be used for food. The excess of such a diet and the invigorating climate of the hills make them quite healthy and strong. But the artificial environment which is created around them by the routine of their life characterised by a variety of engagements and festivities which afford them opportunities of draining the cup of their life to the lees, is certainly not conducive to a temperate life. The uncontrolled energy of their body and the unrefined faculty of their mind incline them towards a lustful life. The high ideal of marriage held by the Hindus is totally absent among these people. Marriage is neither regarded as sacred nor the ties of conjugal love sacrosanct. Marriage with them is an essential economic necessity and is for the satifaction of the play impulses. The fact that sex plays a very important part in this marital life will be illustrated by the instances cited below.

While in an ethnographic tour in these regions one day after some fifteen miles' morning walk, we reached a village named Nawgaun late and found that all the men had gone out on their field work. A few women who were staying at home, as soon as they saw us, came round and began to watch us intently. They probably took us for some State officials because we were dressed in that manner. One of them gave a slight push to her companion standing beside her and said in

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her own dialect rather in a humourous tone with a slight mixture of compassion as well, '*Kani holi bichari youn ki swaini rouni*'. The humour of this remark which still excites my amused pity cannot be fully conveyed in English. It means 'how their helpless wives must be sorely weeping at home without them". The word Swaini' which mean 'wife' is typical and I fail to find its exact equivalent in English. One who knows the dialect can only relish the humour of it. They knew that women in our parts are generally chaste and this was probably the real cause of their feeling pity for our wives and when we told them that our wives do not complain even when we go out for years sometimes, their wonder knew no bounds. We told them that we cannot earn money if we do not leave our homes. They laughed at it and gazing at us with an eye of ridicule said '*Khad karo wai kamayan ku jo oh dera hi na raw, kinek hi banthiya, hum te na deva apna khasam sani bhai jan*', meaning "Damn such earning, we would be quite content with the little that we have, so long as our husbands stay at home; we would not allow our husbands to go out". On asking them what they would do if their husbands were to leave their homes for some time against their wishes. One of them who was showing herself more prominently said, moving her hands, '*Tab hum was par karo*', inditectly conveying by her gesture and remark that they are sure to lead a corrupt life. The humour of her indirect reply and the peculiar wave of her hands indicating her real meaning cannot but excite our

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amused pity even now, when we think of them.

At another place where we had to halt for a night, we met a young man from whom we learnt that they take it as inauspicious if a wife sleeps alone without her husband.

Once we happened to be present at the hearing of some divorce cases before the Deputy Collector. The reason that compelled the girl standing on the left side to surrender herself at the mercy of the Court is the ill-treatment which she received at the hands of her husband, and her parents. But the reasons that forced the other woman to bring the suit are significant here. Her husband has bought a number of sheep and generally has to go out for long periods to distant pastures in order to graze his sheep leaving his wife at home with his parents. This could not be tolerated by his wife, so it forced her to take recourse to the Court for divorce. The other alternative which she offered to her husband was to take care of her at home in every respect which idea is comprehensively expressed by the local term 'Parbas'. It includes not only provision for her subsistence but everything that a woman of her age requires or expects from her husband. This was more explicitly made clear to us by one of the husband's party on our enquiry about the real cause of the wife's annoyance. In a coarse simile he compared women to earth saying that as earth keeps well when it is properly manured and tilled so also women

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keep fit when their husbands have regular intercourse with them and the wife complained only because her desires were not satisfied by her husband.

These most frank and free talks bring out clearly the part played by sex impulses in their marital life. Such facts go to prove that the sex impulse plays by far the most important part in the marital life of a couple. The laxity of moral principles in sex matters and their backwardness in civilization would have made husband and wife live apart and seek their satisfaction in their own way, but there is that saving grace, the one that we find in most primitive societies, that of economic interdependence in the household that accounts for the cordial relationship between husband and wife and makes the one feel the necessity of the other. As a matter of fact there appear to be hardly any moral, legal or social obligations binding them to constancy to one husband or wife, and this might lead to family disquietude and disruption, but it is the economic need, the need that they feel of the assistance of a partner in their household as well as field work, that forces them to abstain from any such extraordinary course. This is the reason why inspite of so many liberties we find families amongst them that lead quite a peaceful life though not a temperate one.

Wife's services to her husband, :—Besides other domestic duties which women have to perform at home as, for example, cooking etc., she renders some personal services to her husband or

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husbands, as the case may be. It is a custom that the wife will bathe her husband in the open yard. It was strange to us to find that even those who were quite healthy and strong required the services of their wives in bathing. On enquiry we learnt that it is due to an established custom and not because they cannot bathe themselves. It is a custom that the wife applies oil on the body of her husband, and presses his feet at night. These services are rendered not from a high sense of duty but merely because it is a customary observance.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I. NOTE ON THE BHUIYAS OF UTKALA AND JHARKHANDA.

I have to sincerely thank Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy in drawing my attention now in November this year to his paper on "*Choṭa-Nagpur, Chuṭiyās and Bhuiyās*", published at pp. 51 78 of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1932. It is regrettable that in critically considering some views of mine regarding some aboriginal tribes the learned scholar has referred to my article on the Bhuiyās which was published in a literary magazine fully a quarter of a century ago and did not refer to my present changed views published only a few years ago in *Orissa in the Making* and in the *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India*. If what I wrote in 1907 has been wholly ignored by me in my latest works, my paper now buried in the pages of the *Modern Review* should not have been unearthed to represent my views. I have given in my recent works the history of the name 'Bhuiyā' as well as the history of some other tribal names, and have also discussed at some length in my *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India* the old time migratory movements of the Bhuiyās and their congeners. These details have not been criticised and I should not, therefore, speak a word relating to them.

As to the very early settlement of the Bhuiyās in Orissa and in its neighbourhood, I have recorded

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this fact in my *Orissa in the Making* at p. 16 that in the 5th century B. C. Gotama Buddha (as the *Majjhima Nikāya* gives it) spoke of these people as the भया *(Bhaiya)* people of Okkala Vassa or the modern Utkala country. It will be seen that the tribal name in the Pāli literature is not the modern Hinduised form 'Bhuiñā' or Bhumija. This very fact has also been mentioned at p. 31 of my *Aborigines in the Highlands of Central India.* It will be doing me a grave injustice if my views set forth in my recent works be ignored and I be made responsible for what are not my views now.

One word about the geographical name 'Kokrā', discussed by me in a recent work of mine and commented upon by the Rai Bahadur in his paper. The learned scholar asserts that this geographical name was brought into prominence by the Moslem rulers at the time of their ascendancy in the land of the Mundas. It may be so, but that does not alter the situation. It goes without saying that this geographical name was not coined by the Mahomedans and that it is not a word of either Persian or Arabic stock. It could not but be that the Moslem rulers only recognised or gave currency to the name that was in vogue in the country. It is then the question, since when previous to the time of the Mahomedans this geographical name was brought into use. The aboriginal people could not possibly, and did not as a fact, maintain any record about it. Consequently no one can be justified in holding that this geographical name was for the first time created by the

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Mahomedans and that previous to the time of the Mahomedans (no matter for what length of time) this name did not designate the tract in question.

I now refer to the remarks of the Rai Bahadur at pp. 72-75 of his paper, regarding some words listed in my article of 1907. The learned scholar might be saved the trouble of tracing the Sanskrit origin of some 'Apabhramsa' vernacular words ocurring on the list if he could rightly see what I meant in using them in my article. I do still maintain, and cannot but maintain, that the words commented upon the Rai Bahadur are not Sanskrit words but they are provincial vernacular 'Apabhramsa' forms of old Sanskrit words. Those words which are purely Sanskrit and are in use in Sanskrit works can be, and have been, brought into use in all the provinces of India, and therefore, there is nothing uncommon or startling in that phenomenon. Now it is an established fact known to us all that owing to phonetic and other provincial peculiarities the 'Apabhramsa' vernacular forms have been very much different in differeut provincial vernaculars. This fact has now been carefully noticed by many scholars that, though widely apart, the provinces of Assam and Orissa very closely agree in the use of many words exactly in the same 'Apabhramsa' forms; agreement in the matter of some grammatical forms also has been striking. In my article of 1907 I brought out this fact to notice that many 'Apabhramsa' words (and not Ssnskrit words) are identical in form in Assam and Orissa and also that some words (3 in number on the list) which are not of Aryan origin, are in common

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use in Assam and Orissa. In 1907 I sought to explain this phenomenon by supposing that some non-Aryan people in their migration from Western Orissa to Assam were instrumental in bringing about that sort of close linguistic agreement. I do not now hold that view of mine to be correct. In my *History of the Bengali Language*, published in 1922, I have shown (perhaps correctly) how from our progressive Bengal many old-time Eastern Magadhi forms have disappeared and how the widely apart provinces of Assam and Orissa have retained many old-time linguistic forms quite unaltered. It is beside the purpose to show that other sorts of 'Apabhramsa' forms of the original Sanskrit words are in use in other provinces. Of the words of Aryan origin dealt with by the Rai Bahadur I notice only one word to point out its right derivation: The Vedic word 'odati' (wet with the dew drops) is only associated in its secondary meaning with the word 'ārdra'; this word survives exactly in the form 'odā' in the provinces under consideration. I should notice also that of the three words (strongly suspected to be of non-Aryan origin) of my list one word is 'māhāliā' (not 'meāliha) which means 'false' in Oriya and is not connected with the words suggested by the Rai Bahadur.

In fine I refer to the learned and sucessful discussion of Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy in fixing the meaning of the term which qualifies the geographical name Nagpur. I do unhesitatingly admit that by his detailed discussion the Rai Bahadur

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has made it highly probable that the qualifying term in question signifies 'choṭa', small, or rather 'not big' in comparison with another town of the name, Nagpur.

B. C. Mazumdar.

Reply to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's above Note on

"The Bhuiyas of Utkala and Jharkhanda."

The first point taken by Mr. Mazumdar in the fore-going 'Note' is that the critical consideration of his article which was published in the *Modern Review* of 1907 was unfair as he had since changed his views and that his changed views are given in his later works "*Making of Orissa*" (1925) and the "*Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India.*" *(1927).*

With reference to this I may mention that I did read and carefully consider what he said about the Bhñiyās in these later works as also his views as expressed in the monograph which he furnished to the late Mr. R. V. Russel for the preparation of his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (Vol. IV, article on 'Bhūiyā').

But I must confess that these later works of Mr. Mazumdar did not give me the impression that he had wholly abandoned his theory which I sought to controvert,—namely, that the 'Nag-worshipping' Bhūiyās were the first colonists of the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau and were associated with a class or clan named 'Chuṭiās', and that the two together contributed to the name 'Chuṭiā Nāgpur' which, Mr. Mazumdar opined, was the correct

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original name of the country, and that the ancestors of the Mūṇḍās and Hōs or Lākṛā Kōls entered the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau later and dislodged the Bhūiyās. I am glad to know now that Mr. Mazumdar no longer holds these views. But as he has made a grievence of my article, I owe it to myself to show that on the materials before me I was justified in thinking that the views put forward by Mr. Mazumdar in his 1907 article were substantially his views until in the present note he disavows them.

Seven years after his article in the *Modern Review* (1907) there appeared extracts from his monograph on the Bhūiyās in Vol. IV of the *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces.* At p. 309 of that work, Mr. Russel quotes from Mr. Mazumdar's contribution for that volume as follows :—"The Mundas and Larka Kols of Chota Nagpur tell us that they first established themselves there by driving out the Bhūiyās ; and it seems likely that the Bhūiyās formed the first batch of the Mūṇḍā immigrants in Chōṭā Nāgpur". Mr. Russel further states at p. 306 of the same volume,—"He (Mr. Mazumdrr) considers that the Bhūimhārs and also the Bāṛāh Bhūiyās, a well-known group of twelve landholders of Eastern Bengal and Assam, belonged to the Bhūiyā tribe. He adduced from Sir E. Gait's *History of Assam* the fact that the Chuṭias and Bhuiyas were dominant in that country prior to its conquest by the Ahoms in the thirteenth century, and consi-

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ders that these Chutias gave their name to Chutia or Chota Nagpur".

A perusal of Mr. Mazumdar's later work *Orissa in the Making* (1925) did not appear to me to indicate that Mr. Mazumdar had given up his earlier theory about the origin of the name of Chōtānāgpur from the supposed 'Chuṭiās' and Bhūiyās and their migrations from Chōṭānāgpur through Oṛissā and Bengal to Assam. Thus, at pages 84-85 of that book he writes, "All that can be said very safely is that some non-Aryan tribes were once influential all throughout the country from Assam to Sambalpur. I may mention by the way that Chutia-Nagpur owes its name to a Chutia tribe of old and we meet with the name of a Chutia tribe in Assam; the names of some villages in Assam within the range of Chutia inflence seem to agree with many place-names of the Sambalpur district." Mr. Mazumdar in his present paper refers to p. 16 of his *Orissa in the Making* where he has recorded that "in the 5th century B. C. Gotama Buddha spoke of these people as the Bhuiya people of Okkala Vassa or the modern Utkala country", and adds—"this very fact has also been mentioned at p.31 of my *Aborigines in the Highlands of Central India*". Now on referring to p. 16 of his *Orissa in the Making*, it will be found that there too he refers with approval to his previous statements in his paper on the *Bhuiyas* in Russel's *Tribes and Castes of Central India*. The passage at p. 16 of his *Orissa in the Making* to which Mr. Mazumdar refers in the present paper runs as follows:—"The Utkala country has been the principal home of the Bhuians since a very remote past, and the Bhuians still exercise much influence all over the tract (*vide* my paper on the *Bhuians*,

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incorporated in Russel's *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*). It is of the greatest importance to note, that the Utkalas, that is the people of Utkala, have been Bhuians since the time of Gotam Buddha, for to illustrate the unreasonableness of the barbarous people, the Bhainyans of Ukkala Bassa have been mentioned in the Majjhima Nikaya." All that these passages appeared to me to indicate was only that he now (in 1925) pushed back the time of the migration of the Bhuiyas from Chōṭānāgpur into Oṛissā from the Christian era to a few centuries before Christ. Thus, it will be seen from the above extracts that his present changed views could not be guessed from his latest works, but that the reference in his lastest works to his paper on the *Bhuiyas* in the *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces* would lead one to believe that he still adhered to his 1907- theory about the identity of th Bhuiyas with the Chutias of Assam and Baro Bhuiyas of Eastern Bengal. And, as I have alreandy noted, in his "Orissa in the Making" (1925) he reiterates his theory as to the origin of the name 'Chotanagpur' from "a Chutia tribe of old" whom he traces to Assam.

On these facts, Mr. Mazumdar will see that I had no indication of his changed views and so I hope he will admit that it was not unjustifiable on my part to refer to his article of 1907. It is not correct to say that I ignored his latest writings on the subject. He will find in footnote no. 21 at p. 65 of my article under discussion, that specific reference was made to his latest work "*The Aborigines of Central India*". (*1927*)

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With reference to the name 'Kokra' as applied to Chōṭānāgpur as a whole, by Muhammadan historians, what I said in my article was that Mr. Mazumdar's statement that "At the time when these things happened (namely, when the Bhuiyans or Bhuiyas as "the first batch of immigrants of Chotanagpur" entered the country,) Kokra was the old local name of Chotanagpur and that *later*, in Hindu Puranas of very late date we find this tract included in what is called Jharkhanda" could not be correct as the name "Kokra" or 'Kokhra' is derived from village *Khukhra* which was the seat of the then Rājās of Chōṭā Nāgpur when the Moghul Emperors of Delhi first came in contact with the country, and they for the first time described the Rājā as the Rājā of Kōkerā (a corruption of Khukra) and his territories as 'Kokera'. Neither in local tradition nor in any pre-Muhammadan work of either Hindu or Buddhistic or foreign writers do we find this name, and the last that we hear of this name is in Grant's *Fifth Report* which merely reproduces passages from the 'Ain-i-Akbari' containing the name, but when Grant himself refers to the country in the text of his *Report* or *Analysis* he speaks of it as 'Nagpore'. Khukra was not the first capital of the Rājās of Chōṭā Nāgpur, but a place called Sutiambē with its adjacent village Pithouria was. And after Sutiambē and Pithouria there was more than one change of the royal capital before Khukra was selected as such. So there can be no justification for asserting that *Kokra* was the earliest name of Chōṭā Nāgpur, or that it was the name when the Mūṇḍās first entered the country, which is admitted on all hands to have been before the advent of the Nāgbams'ī Rājās.

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As for the origin of the name Khukra, Mr. Mazumdar is right in saying that it is not a word of either Persian or Arabic stock. Nor does it appear to be either a Samskritic or a Mūṇḍāri name. It is not improbable that it is a transformation by metathsis or corruption of the name 'Kurukh' or rather its plural form '*Kurkhar*'. The village of *Khukra* lies in the heart of the Orāon country. And the Orāons call themselves 'Kurukhar', and the *parganā* Khukra is the main stronghold of the tribe. So it is probable that as the centre of the land of the Orāons or 'Kurukhar' (as distinguished from the land of the Muṇḍās which lies far to the south and south-east of Khukhra), this village and the *pargana* round about came to called by that name (Kurukhar) which in time was transformed into 'Khukra'. Now the traditions of the Orāons or Kurukhar, as also of the Muṇḍās go to show that the Orāons or *Kurukhar* came to Chota Nagpur long after the Mūṇḍās and have been always recognised as the dominat tribe in the District. And it is hardly likaly that the whole of the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau could ever have been generaly known as 'Khukra' or 'Kokhra'; on the contrary, *Khukhra* is still the name of only one out of the many *Parganās* or fiscal divisions into which the country was divided in Moghul times. And the probabilities are that as the Rājā of Chōṭā Nāgpur had his seat at Khukra when the Moghul army first came to the country, he came to be known to the Emperor and the Muhammadan historians of those days as the Rājā of Khokera, and his country as Khokera.

Finally, I must conclude by thanking Mr. Mazum-

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dar for giving me an opportunity of replying to his criticisms. All's well that ends well. I am glad to know that Mr. Mazumdar does not now hold the view he had advanced in his *Modern Review* articale. And I am also glad that a learned antiquarian like him is now inclined to accept my derivation of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur'.

S. C. Roy.

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II. OSAS OR OCCASIONAL WORSHIPS OF THE ORIYAS.

The Osas are Vratas or occasional worships done by Ōṛiyā women and children. There is quite a lot of them. We shall name a few only, e. g. Chanda Osa, Khudrukuni or Bhalukuni Osa, Bāta Osa, Lakshmī Osa, Bara Osa, Ganda Kuchia Osa, Kanji Anala Osa, Sāvitrī Osa. We shall deal with these in a short and summary way in order to give our readers an idea of the various deities who are worshipped on these occasions.

The Osas or occasional worships.

Chanda Osa is the worship of the Moon. This is observed in the second day after the new moon of every month by women who get still-born children. They keep their fast for the whole day and break it after worshipping the moon in the evening. A small crescent of silver is often worshipped as the symbolical representation of the Moon. The worship takes place near the sacred basil plant in the inner courtyard of the house, The worship is conducted so long as the worshipper does not get a healthy baby. The Moon is an ancient deity worshipped by the Aryans and the non-Aryans. She has lost her place in the pantheon, but her hold on women has not ceased altogether.

The *Khudrukuni Osa* is held on Saturdays in the month of Bhādra in honour of goddess Mangalā, the doer of good. It is observed by married women as well as unmarried girls. It is said that the performance of this Vrata brings on good luck and ensures

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health and plenty to the household. In the story portion of the worship there is a pathetic story of *Tapoi*, the daughter of a merchant. She had seven brothers. They left for ā distant land on a voyage. Tapoi was ill-treated by her brothers' wives. She had to go without food for some days and had to tend her brothers' goats. She performed this Vrata in honour of Mangalā. Her brothers came back, and found her out in a wood. They took their wives severely to task and drove them out of their home. The brothers married again and lived quite happily. This is also known as *Bhalukuni Osa*. The worship is generally held near the hollow of a *ḍhenki* or paddyhusking instrument. Girls sing at the time of the Pūjā with unbraided hair falling over their faces. They look like bears or *Bhalus* while singing their songs. Hence the name *Bhalukuni*. The goddess *Mangalā* worshipped on this occasion is not the Mangalā of the Hindu pantheon, but an incorporeal deity without any special form who likes to do good if she is worshipped.

Bāta Osa is held in the month of Agrahāyan either on the third, seventh or ninth day after the full-moon. Rice-cakes are prepared. Sugar-canes, cocoanuts and radishes are put into a basket nicely dressed. A small hole is dug in a secluded part of the village common. The offerings are arranged round the hole and women sit on all sides to hear the story of the Vrata. The story is then recited by one of the devotees and is heard with rapt attention by the whole group. After

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it is over, the place of worship is swept clean with a broom made of Vajramuli bush. Those who perform this worship, are said to get healthy children, none of whom dies an untimely death.

Lakshmi Osa is held chiefly on Thursdays in the month of Agrahāyaṇa. No image of the goddess is made on the occasion. The *Gouni* or a basket for measuring paddy besmeared with vermilion and filled with paddy is made to represent the goddess. The Goddess Lakshmi is now a fullfledged goddess and she has her place in the orthodox Hindu pantheon. But her worship as conducted in Lakshmi Osās shows, unless we go into the *mantras* uttered on the occasion, that it is mainly the worship of paddy that sustains life.

Sāvitrī Osa is well known in Bengal also. It is observed in honour of Sāvitrī, wife of Satyavāna, who brought her husband back to life by her chaste devotion. Sāvitrī was a mortal who has become a goddess. This Vrata is performed for twelve consecutive years and it is celebrated with great pomp and festivity in the closing year.

Ganda Kuchia Osa is highly interesting. It is performed in the rainy season. Rice-cakes of various kinds are prepared and one of each kind is thrown into a neighbouring tank to appease the fresh water-shells and stinging fishes, so that people working in the paddy fields in mud and water may be safe from harm caused by these creatures.

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Kangi Amala Osa, is held in the month of Agrahāyan and is observed mainly by Brāhman widows. A *hāṇḍi* full of water in which cooked rice has been steeped for a couple of days or so is taken to the foot of an *amala* tree, (*phyllanthus emblica*), and worshipped. Rice steeped in water is the favourite food of all classes in Ōṛissā and in the fitness of things it should have its own Pūjā.

Bara Osā is peculiar to the district of Cuttack. It is held in the month of Kārtik. The votary keeps her fast from the morning. She pounds rice with her own hands and makes a very big rice-cake called *Gajamaṇḍa* filled with kernel of cocoanut and treacle. It takes a whole night to make it. The votary rises early next morning, takes her bath, and offers the rice cake to Dhabaleswar Siva, whose temple is three miles to the west of Cuttack town. She then breaks her fast.

Satindra Narayan Roy,
M. A., B. L.

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INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for October, 1932, there appears under the heading 'Vanishing India', a note on one hundred and fifty paintings by Mr. Stowitts, in the Imperial Institute, South Kensington. In this series, we are told, the whole length and breadth of India, from Baluchistan to Ceylon, is represented. "Most of the pictures are of handworkers of every conceivable race and occupation".

In the same number of *Man*, Mr. K. Govlnda Menon controverts a statement of Mr. Aiyappan published in *Man* for March, 1932, to the effect that "*Tali* in Malabar has none of its usual significance as a symbol of marriage except among the the Nambudiris". He points out that though "today the tying of the *tali* is a meaningless observance among the Nayars and is rapidly being given up, as such, evidence recorded by the Malabar Marriage Commission of 1894 shows that on the fourth day of the Talikattu a cloth is severed in two parts and one part is given to the Manavalan (the man who ties the Tali) and one to the girl in the presence of Enangans and friends. "This is supposed symbolically to be divorce, and even inspite of this divorce the girl observes death pollution when her Manavalan dies". (Fawcett) Mr. Govinda Menon points out—"There cannot be divorce without marriage. In North Travancore it was a custom to remove the Tali when the Tali-tier is dead, thus showing that

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the Tali-tying really stord for a marriage. In fact, the Tali is a symbol of non-virginity, and at one time was the outward sign that the wearer had been initialed into womanhood." Mr. Menon also doubts Mr. Aiyappan's surmise that "the Nambudiri, with whom Talikattu is an essential part of marriage, was responsible for the custom among the Nayars", and suggests that "it originated more likely in the several raids that were made on Malabar, when every girl wanted a protector and the Tali was a sign to the foreigner that she could not be molested with impunity". He notes that "lacking, as it (Talikattu marriage among the Nayars) does, the other forms of Nambudiri marriage, i. e. Saptapadi, Homam, and Panigrahanam, it is open to doubt whether the Nambudiri is responsible for the custom".

In *Man* for November, 1932, L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer in a letter controverts K. M. Panikkar's contention that Nayar polyandry was fraternal, and says that Mr. Panikkar's "statement is not supported by any evidence or authority". "Fraternal polyandry was common among many of the Dravidian tribes of South India which flourished also among the Izhuvans, Kammalans, Kaniyans, and the Vilkurups and Panans in the Cochin State. Among these castes the eldest brother married a girl or young woman and took her to his own house where, after a formal ceremony, she was allowed, with the permission of their mother, to share conjugal relations with his brothers. The woman resides in the house of her husbands, and

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the children are owned by their fathers. The inheritance is patrilineal. A few instances of fraternal polyandry among the Nayars of Travancore came to my notice. Two more instances were recorded by Rev. Mateer and Fawcett....But the custom even there is not said to be common. The only explanation that could be given is, that Nayars were recruits originally from various Tamil castes and tribes among whom these must have been found to be still lingering". As regards the question how the non-fraternal type of polyandry could have prevailed among the Nayars who were living in the midst of the caste-men who were practising fraternal polyandry, Mr. Anantha Krisha Iyer suggests that it was, "to a great extent, due to the military organization of the Nayars, and feudalism which then prevailed in Malabar". He thinks that *Talikettu Kalyanam* which prevailed among all the Dravidian tribes, has nothing to do with polyandry. He says, "The *tāli* is only a symbol which signifies that the girl is fit to become a wife. It is only a kind of betrothal ceremony as among the Brahmans. Among the Nambuthiri Brahmans it is the father who ties it. Among the Nayars either an Enangam, a Tirumalpad, or rarely the mother in poor families, was the tali-tier, on the ground of economy, of a number of girls in a big family. It is celebrated with all formalities. It is not a later adoption in Malabar. It partook of a more quasi-religious character owing to the influence of Brahmans for social distinction....If the *tāli*-tying ceremony is not a sacrament or *Samskāra*, it has, under modern

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social conditions, several compensating advantages". Mr. Iyer points out that the real marriage among the *Nayārs* is the *Sambandham* (the customary union of a man and a woman), and that the defloration of a Nayar girl is "a relic of an old custom prevailing among the people of low culture, for which various explanations are given by anthropologists".

In *Man* for December, 1932, Mr. A. Aiyappan elucidates his note on Nayar Polyandry that appeared in the March number of *Man*. He writes: "When I wrote that fraternal polyandry was the exception among the Nayars and the non-fraternal (MeLennan's Nayar polyandry) was the commoner form, I meant to connote by 'brothers' both classificatory and own brothers, Marriage of any sort was strictly prohibited between classificatory relatives. Rules regarding non-fraternal polyandry are not definitely known; It is, however, almost certain they were similar to the rules governing marriages of the present day. There are the various sub-castes within the caste, which are generally endogamuos, but intermarriage is permitted on the *Anulōma* principle, males of a higher caste (e. g., Namputiri Brahman) or a higher sub-caste marrying women lower in gradation. In each sub-caste the *tarvād* (a small clan of kindred) forms the social unit. The Nayārs are strictly matrilineal in descent, inheritance, etc.; the *tarvād* is an exogamous group of matrilineal families consisting of people descended from a common ancestress, and hence having

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kinship also with one another. Kinship is reckoned unilaterally on the maternal line—on the *tarvād* side—only.....Each *tarvād* nowadays has three or four neighbouring *tarvāds* as its *inangu* (a friendly local group within the sub-caste,) membership of which gave preferential treatment in mating, for the performance of certain social and ceremonial duties, e. g. (1) cooking food for the members of the *tarvād* when they are under death-pollution and cannot use their kitchen; (2) acting the part of a minor priest at death ceremonies, when he is fed sumptuously; and (3) officiating as the tier of the marriage badge or *tāli*, at the initiatory ceremony known as *talikāttu kalyānam*. These priestly functions make one doubt whether the *iṇangan* (i. e. a member of the *iṇangu*) was not a priest also within the sub-caste, like the barber priest for the entire caste." In his communication in the March number, Mr. Aiyappan opined that non-fraternal polyandry was generally circumscribed within an *inangu* and was subject to the supervision and control of the head of the extended matrilineal family. As among the Todas, polyandry was supplemented by polygyny which is but natural among people with normal sex ratio. Even now among the Nayars the person who ties the Tāli is generally an Iṇangan, which is a significant fact. The absence of definite relationship terms for relatives on the father's side shows the subordinate position of the father in Nāyar society. Disregard of the father factor goes to such an extent among the Nayars as to tolerate marriage of parallel cousins on the father's

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side—a thing uncommon among other Hindus. The relatively insignificant position of the father is a natural consequence of polyandry; matriliny of the Nayars is not wholly responsible for it... Adelphic polyandry among the Nayars was never wide in its incidence and is directly opposed to all Nāyar social regulations. There is a rule prohibiting a person marrying his brother's wife's sister; sororate and levirate are unknown. With these strict prohibitions it is difficult to consider adelphic polyandry even as a survival. Some menial sects among the Nāyars, e. g. the Vilakattalavans, practise it, because they are few in numbers, generally poor and isolated from their fellows in other localities".

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September-December, 1932, Sarat Chandra Roy contributes a paper on *The Study of Folklore and Tradition in India.* By an analysis of certain folk-rites in the marriage customs of the higher castes of Bengali Hindus, and by a comparison of some of these folkrites with analogous ceremonies among certain aboriginal tribes, the author shows how some of these folkrites which are no longer intellegible to their civilized performers, become intelligible when thus compared with analogous rites of neighbouring primitive tribes for whom they have sufficient meaning and purpose; whereas some are meant to symbolise and cement the marriage-tie, some have a magical purpose, and a few stand on quite a higher level, having been "originally devised by

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higher civilisation to bring higher ideals of religion and morality and social relations home to the minds of the more backward classes of the population". With regard to tradition, the author cites instances shewing how popular tradition may with the help of archaeological and other evidence throw light on the events of the early history of a country or a people, and also help us to understand their unrecorded social and agrarian history.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, for October, 1932, Mr. A. S. Thyagaraju contributes a paper on *Sumero-Dravidian Affinities* in which he gives a list of Dravidian words which appear to have affinities with Sumerian roots; and Mr. S. C. Mitra continues his *Studies in Bird-myths and Plant-myths.*

In the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* for September, 1932, Swami Jagadiswarananda contributes an article on *Taoism and Vedanta.*

In the *Tirunalai Sri Venkatesvara* for October, November and December, 1932, Mr. A. Padmanabhiah contributes the first three instalments of his paper on "Early Dravidian Races". The author attempts to show that the Asuras of ancient Sanskrit literature are the ancestors of the Semitic and Dravidian races. He writes, "The inference is possible that the Dravidian Agnikulas entered India as conquerors, and their settlements extended over practically the whole of India. The early Kuru-Panchalas with the Srinjayas and Somakas, Barhadrathas of Magadha, the later Satavahana Andhras and their successors, Ikshvaku Kadambas, Pallavas, Kols, Chalukyas,

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Pandyas, Cholas and Keralas are the chief Dravidian Agnikula races of Dekkan. Among the Kuru Panchalas, the Kurus are the Nagas, and the Nagas, the earliest civilised race known to ancient history are only a particular branch of these Panchalas. These Panchalas are the children of Vishvakarma, the artificer of the gods—veritable descendants of the ancient Asuras, whose powerful and mighty scions are Vritra, Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Hiranyakasipu, and quite a number of other Danava or Naga or fire-born heroes. In Western Asia, the early Priest-Kings of Babylon, Sumer, Assyria, Hittite and Amorite, the Banaanite of the Bible, particularly the Kenites who are described by Professor Sayce as the Gypsies and travelling tinkers of the ancient world', and the Phoenicians are also the descandants of these Agnikulas. In ancient days, knowledge of fire implied secret of metallurgy and alchemy and this meant influence and power. Ancient Egypt with its two kingdoms is only a colony of these early Bhrigu Panchalas of the Elamite country. The early occupants of the Aegean area, viz., the Pelasgic races with their Caberii, Curetes and Corybantes are also children of these Agnikulas. These Agnikula Nagas are the Panchalas of our epic literature and their modern descendants are the five smith castes of South India who call themselves Visvakarma Brahmins and Panchalas, and in their traditional accounts they mention that they came to South India from outside, viz., Kanthapuri—a word which has great significance and wide import....It is the children of the Panchalas (five "able smiths") who built the great pyramids of Egypt. They are the originators of image worship, themselves being priests, and it is for this reason that the later Bramhana literature looks down upon image worship as being low in status. For this there is evidence in our Puranic and Epic literature if properly studied and interpreted along with with the mythology of these countries".

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Addresses delivered at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, *1932. Pp. 256. Price 3 s. 6 d. net.*

This handy volume contains 13 adresses delivered by the General President and the Sectional Presidents of the Association at its 102*nd* annual meeting held at York from August 31 to September 7, 1932. The title which the General President Sir Alfred Ewing, K. C. B., F. R. S. chose for his address is "An Engineer's Outlook". The President of Section A (Mathematical and Physical Sciences), Prof. A. Rankine, O. B. E., D. Sc., selected as the subject of his Address "Some Aspects of Applied Geophysics". Dr. W. H. Mills, F. R. S., President of section B (Chemistry) spoke on "Some Aspects of Stereochemistry". Prof. P. G. H. Boswell, D. Sc., F. R. S., President of Section C (Geology), took for his theme, "The Contacts of Geology: The Ice Age and Early Man in Britain". In Section D (Zoology), the Right Hon. Lord Rothschild, Ph. D., F. R. S., selected as the topic of his Presidential Address, "The Pioneer Work of the Systematists". Prof. H. J. Fleure, D. Sc., President of Section E (Geography) addressed the meeting on "The Geographical Study of Society and World Problems",—In Section F., (Economic Science and Statistics), its President, Prof. R. B. Forrester, delivered his address on "Britain's Access to Overseas Markets." In Section G (Engineering), the subject of the Presidential address of Prof.

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Miles Walker, D. Sc. F. R. S., was "The Call to the Engineer and the Scientist". In Section H. (Anthropology), its President Dr. David Randall-MacIver, M. A., D. Sc., addressed the meeting on "The Place of Archæology as a Science and some Practical Problems in its development". In Section J (Psychology) Prof. Beatrice Edgell, D. Litt. selected for the theme of his Presidential Address, "Current Constructive Theories in Psychology"—

Prof. J. N. Priestley, D. S. O., B. Sc., President of Section K (Botany) addressed the meeting on "The Growing Tree". Mr. W. Mayhowe Heller, President of Section L (Educational Science) spoke on "The Advancement of Science in Schools — Its Magnitude, Direction and Sense". And in Section M (Agriculture), Prof. R. G. White selected as subject for his Presidential Address—"Sheep Farming—A Distinctive Feature of British Agriculture". These addresses by recognized authorities on their respective subjects are highly interesting and instructive not only to students of the sciences with which they deal but also, to some extent, to the general educated public. For the student of the Science of Man, the presidential addresses of Prof. Boswell, Prof. Fleure, and Dr. Randall-MacIver are of special interest.

Purdah: The Status of Indian Women.— *By Frieda Hanswarth (Mrs. Sarangadhar Das). (Kegan Paul, 1932). pp. VIII+289. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.*

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This well got-up volume contains a more truthfull and impartial view of Indian womanhood than the notorious book entitled "Mother India". The present book is written by a cultured European lady who married an Indian, and lived in an Indian home, and had thus special opportunities of studying the status of Indian women from 'behind the veil.' From her study of Indian history she traces the development of the Purdah system from the freedom of the Vedic period, the imposition of the first restrictions in the Sutra period, the necessary enhancement of restrictions in the Muhammadan Period, down to the reappearance of civic and social consciousness among Indian women under the influence of English education. In the light of intimate personal acquiantance she sets forth the good as well the evil features of Purdah and discusses the significance of the enfranchisement of women in the formation of a new Inidia.

This volume will form a neccessary corrective of the wrong and distorted view presented by the propagandism of such works as "Mother India".

Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: A functional Study of Nutrition among the Southern Bantu.—*By Andrey, I. Richards, M A., D. Sc. with a Preface by Professor B. Mallinowski. (Routledge, 1932). Pp. XVI+238. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.*

In this volume, the author has broken new ground. She appears to be the first scientist

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to investigate the social and cultural functions of the nutritive processes. So long the role that the sex-impulse plays in the development of human society and human culture has been stressed and even over-stressed, but the influence of hunger in the shaping of human character and social structure has been practically overlooked. The present volume is, so far as we know, the first scientific attempt to investigate the social and cultural functions of hunger which is the other and the more urgent fundamental biological drive underlying the social life of man. And the author has signally succeded in her attempt. By adopting the functional method (study of social institutions as they actually function in a living society, in their relation to the primary social wants they satisfy) which Professor Mallinowske was the first to systematically apply to anthropological investigation and exposition, our author analyses social institutions on the basis of the fundamental biological need for food, and attempts to show that it is this primary and recurrent physical need which determines the nature of social groupings and the form their activities take. But the reader is not to suppose that Dr. Richards' view of life is purely "physical" or materialistic. As her view-point is psychological and she seeks to see life steadily and see it as a whole", she envisages primitive religion and magic too as centring round the biological need for food. The author writes, "In almost every primitive community food-stuffs themselves—and the act of eating,

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exchanging or producing food—come to possess symbolic value in the ceremonial life of the tribe. In fact, one of the most prominent and universal features of primitive ritual is what has been called the *sacralization* of food. In his religious and legal ceremonies the savage is constantly handling food, offering it ritually to his God, or to other members of his group, eating it, dividing it, or exchanging it. Morever, he tends to select certain types of food, whether plant or or animal, as objects of special religious cults. or to believe that eating itself, and in particular the eating of certain specefied foodstuffs, has a definite magic effect upon him, working moral or physical changes, or giving him access to new sources of power". Although, it may appear to some readers that our authoress has on some points, over-emphasized the rōle that hunger plays in human culture and has unduly depreciated the work of ethnographers who did not start their examination of primitive communities from the sociological significance of food, the book is a remarkable production and initiates a new line of sociological and anthropological research productive of a rich harvest..

Hindu Families in Gujerat.— *By R. B. Govindbhai H. Desai, (State Press, Baroda, 1932). Pp. II+ 472. Price Re 1-13 as. net.*

This is a highly interesting popular account of the economic, domestic and social life of the

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Hindus of Gujerat. As a resident of Gujerat, a scholar and a practical man of affairs, the accomplished author who is the First Councillor of the Baroda State was eminently fitted for the task which His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda imposed on him. And the task has been discharged with considerable care, ability and skill. The book gives a clear and reliable account of the Hindu population of Gujerat, their caste system, family life, their customs relating to pregnancy and child-birth, marriage, divorce, and death, their festivals and amusements, personal law and the position of women, and finally a chapter on some current economic problems. It is written in the light of a close personal knowledge of the people, their customs, habits and mentality, and the "modern disintegrating tendencies", due to "the spread of Western ideas and the improved means of communication". In fact, changes in custom and outlook have been proceeding with such rapid strides, that the author has to write in his preface: "No one need wonder if what is written to-day is found to have materially changed before it is published". This forcibly points to the urgent need for preparing and publishing full and accurate accounts of the life of the people in other States and Provinces of India before the disintegration of old manners, customs and institutions proceeds much further. A short descriptive glossary of the various castes of the Province or State dealt with in this book together with the latest Census statistics regarding them might further enhance the usefulness of a volume

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like this as a handy book of reference. So far as it goes, the book under review is a valuable contribution to Indian ethnological literature, and students of Indian ethnology and sociology as also the cultured general reader of things Indian will welcome Rai Bahadur Govindbhai H. Desai's book to their book-shelves.

Mysore Tribes and Castes, Vol. IV.— *By the late H. V. Nanjundayya and, Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, (Mysore Government Press; Bangalore, 1931) Pp. VIII+677 Price Rs. 2/8 or 20s.*

We heartily welcome this fourth volume of Mysore ethnography which we owe to the enligtened Ruler of the State. It presumably completes the sociological account of Mysore Tribes and Castes. Vol. I is yet to appear, and we presume it will contain a general account of the ethnology of the State. We hope these volumes will be followd up by one or more volumes giving the physical measurements of the people and a discussion of their racial composition and affinities. The volumes are highly interesting and useful so far as they go. Publications of this kind, containing a mass of valuable information, and furnishing a general view of the ethnography of the State or Province dealt with and serving as useful books of reference, are undoubtedly of great value to the student. From the nature of the work, however, it can hardly give us more than mere outlines of the ethnology of the population,

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Now that we have got such general ethnographical surveys of most of the Provinces and major States of India (with the notable exception of Travancore, Kashmir, and a few others), it is time that our ethnological literature should be enriched by the preparation and publication of full monographs on individual tribes and castes of any importance. The example of the Assam Government in this respect deserves to be emulated by other Governments and administrations in India. The present volume is well-written and well-arranged, though a few minor defects in printing and editing have crept in. The Mysore Government and the editor deserve the best thanks of all students of Indian man.

Negroes of Africa: History and Culture.—*By Maurice Delafosse. Translated from the French by F. Fligelman. (The Associated Publishers, Inc. Washington, 1931). Pp. XXIII+313. Price.*

This translation, as the Translator informs us in his Preface, is a combination of two books by the same author, one largely historical and the other entirely ethnological, on the Negroes of Africa. The aim of these books, as the author tells us, is to furnish "a general view of the history, the civilizations, and the material, intellectual and social character of the Negro race which inhabits the African continent" and "to establish a sort of synthesis of what is common to all African Negro civilizations considered by themselves and in their

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real character, aside from the alterations that have been brought about, in some regions, either by Musalman or European influence". The distinguished author, who died in 1926, had spent nearly seventeen years in West Africa and in his administrative capacity visited almost every part of it and studied languages, customs and mentality of the people with the most scrupulous attention. As Prof. H. Labouret, tells us in his critical Preface, the two books, "here combind into a single volume and translated with great care—present an interesting and exact statement of our ethnological knowledge about this part of the world, and it is probable that this study will remain fundamental for many years to come." It may be noted that for the purpose of delineating the organization, functioning and ceremonial of a Negro State he has selected for demonstration the classic kingdom of the Upper Volta which is a French possession. But, as Pof. Rabouret points out, "It does not seem there are any great disadvantages in this method, for the Negro race presents a remarkable nnity from one end of the continent to the other, a type of life and organization imposed by various millions, so much so that what is true for a region of the North or the West is usually so also for the corresponding country in the South or the East". In spite of certain debateable inferences made by M. Delafosse in matters of detail, the work before us presents a reliable and highly instructive synthesis of African history and ethnology. The book will be a welcome addition to the library of every English-speaking student of African ethnology.

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The Free Negro Family.—*A study of Family Origins before the Civil War. By E. Franklin Frazier. (Fisk University Press. Nashville, Tennesee. 1932). Pp. II+75 Price.*

In this book, the author attempts to trace the origin of the free Negro families in the United States of Ameria and to show how with a heritage of traditons and economic competency extending back before the Civil War these families "became the vanguard in the cultural and economic progress of the race". A comprehensive account of the origin, history and career of all the free Negro families before the Civil War is not attempted, but only the career of a few typical families that developed in relation to the ecological organization of slavery. The materials presented in this volume form, we are told, a part of a comprehensive study of the Negro family which is being carried on as one of the major projects of the Social Science Department of the Fisk University. The present book consists of three chapters. The first chapter contains a short account of the origin, growth and distribution of the Free Negroes. A class of free Negroes existed in America almost from the time they were first introduced into the Virginia colony in 1916. The important means by which the free class was increased, was manumission, through both private (through wills &c.) and public action (as a reward for meritorious public services). The five sources through which the free Negro population was increased are :—(1) children born of free coloured persons ; (2) mulatto children born of free coloured mothers ; (3) mulatto children born of white servants

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or free women; (4) children of free Negro and Indian parentage; (5) manumitted slaves. The free Negroes, just as all elements which do not fit into the traditional social order, tended to become concentrated in cities. The urban enviroment offered the free Negro an opportunity to get some formal education and enter a variety of occupations which gave him economic security and independence in some cases. In the second chapter the character of the free Negro communities is discussed. The most striking characteristic is the prominence of the mulatto element. In 1860, in Lousianna, where this is most marked, 15,158 of the 18,647 free Negroes were mulattoes.

The social life of the free coloured groups centred for the most part about the Churches and the fraternal organizations. Besides the urban communities there were a few rural communities and isolated communities of Negroes mixed with Indians. Having in chapter II, considered the origin of the free Negro population and its distribution in seven characteristic areas, the author gives in chapter III an account of certain typical free Negro families which took root in these communities and developed an institutional character. As the author writes in his 'Conclusion', "Economic competence, culture, and achievement gave these families a special status and became the source of a tradition which has been transmitted to succeeding generations. These families have been the chief bearers of the first economic and cultural gains of the race, and have constituted a leavening

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element in the Negro population wherever they have been found. Therefore, in studying the different problems of the Negro one must take into account these various cultural strains which, often unperceived, thread Negro life". Here we have a highly interesting sociological study; and its readers will eagerly look forward to the more comprehensive study of the Negro family of which this is a part.

The Concepts of Sociology: A Treatise presenting a Suggested Organization of Sociological Theory in Terms of its Major Concepts.— *By Earle Edward Eubank. (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1932). Pp XVIII+570. Price $ 4. 80.*

Every student of sociology and sociological literature has felt the need of a well-defined and logical system of sociological concepts and categories by which social phenomena may be accurately described and usefully analyzed and classified. Dr. Eubank proposes to organize sociological theory by classifying its major concepts into the following seven categories, grouped under four headings:—

I. Societary Composition, (the material substance of which society is constituted, including its mental equipment).

1. *The Single Human Being:* the person and its related concepts.
2. *The Human Plural:* the group and its related concepts.

II. Societary Causation: (the elements responsible for the fact of change in Societary Compo-

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sition, and for the patterns which the changes take).

3. *Societary Enengy* (or force), and its related concepts: energisation, motivation, the dynamic effective in producing change.

4. *Societary Control* and its related concept: the influences emanating from human association that determine the form or pattern of the change.

III. Societary Change: the alterations and modifications that occur within, or in relation to, societary composition, including the psychic phases.

5. *Societary Action*, and its related concepts: the movements and processes that take place, in which groups and their constitnent members participate.

6. *Societary Relationship*, and its related concepts.

IV. Societary Products.

7. *Culture*, and its related concepts.

The author rightly points out that any sociological phenomenon that may be examined, automatically and simultaneously involves the seven elements of individual, group, energy, control, action relationship, and product,—and that each is a phase of all the others and a function of the whole. Only theoretically is it at all possible to detach any one of these for more independent examination in order to facilitate the analysis necessary for scientific investigation. Our author's classification appears to have much in its favour. The book also provides us with an admirable survey of sociological thought. It is a very valuable contribution to the science of sociology.

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The Divine Doctrine of Universal Religion.— *By H. H. Sri-Kalki, (Prof. M. T. Narasimmingar).* [*India Press, Bangalore, 1931*]. *Pp. 93. Price 12 annas..*

The author claims to have been blessed with "Yogic Inspiration Divine in 1915 A. D.", and with the revelation of a new religion. Indeed he pro-claims himself an *Avatar* or incarnation of the Deity. This propagandist little book contains some Hindu philosophical and ethical ideas inter-woven with and distorted by a jumble of fantastic ideas and theories of the author having for their central theme—"Let all believe Me, obey Me and serve Me, and be saved through My Blessings Divine." The author would have been better advised to confine the circulation of the book among his own followers and devotees only.

In the Beginning: The Origin of Civilization.— *By Prof. G. Elliot Smith, (London: Watts &Co. 1932). Pp. X+109. Price 1 s.*

This is a new and revised edition of a smaller book which was first published as the introductory volume to the series called the Thinker's Library. This book, as the author says in his Introduction, is concerned not with man's emergence in the remotest past, but with the origin of civilization in comparatively recent times. The author's theory of the origin and spread of civilization, and the arguments employed to support it, are now well-known to

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all anthropologists and may be succintly summarized as follows:—Diffusion of culture is the fundamental process of all human activities, and the single centre of diffusion was Egypt. "Primitive man, in spite of his powers of intelligence and his manipulative ability, should have been content for so many ages to live a life of simple nomadism without attempting to alter his conditions of existence in any other way than by alertness and an uncanny skill in his behaviour. It was not until one group of men was forced by circumstances to realize what they could do to avert the need of a daily search for food that civilization began". This fortunate group of men were the Egyptians who about 4000 B. C. found barley growing wild in the Nile Valley, forsook the nomadic life, took to agriculture and became the pioneers of civilization. "Before the creation of civilization the only grouping of human beings was the natural one of the family which man inherited from his simian ancestors. With the invention of agriculture, the adoption of a settled mode of life in villages involved the herding of numbers of family groups in close association with one another, and eventually created the need for some sort of working arrangement for associating the family groups in clans. These circumstances, however, combined to shape the form of the earliest social organization; the invention of totemism, the institution of the kingship, and the subsequent curtailment of the king's powers, which led to emergence of the Dual Organization". "Religion and mythology; dress and drink; furniture and houses; art and architecture; music and dancing; that symbolism of animals which afterwards found expression in totemism, crests, and flags, dragons and magic wands; the art of writing and the materials for its practice, the earliest methods of medecine and surgery—these and the thousand and one devices of civilized life were first developed in Egypt as part of the legacy of her precocious civilization to the world". According the our author,— "The Sumerian,

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Elamite and Indian cultures all passed mainly from Egypt by diffusion. From about 3000 B. C. the Elamites were searching far and wide for gold and copper, lapis lazuli and jade, and before 2500 B. C., many centres of colonization had been created in the region extending from the Caspian to the Punjab and the Sind Desert. During these same centuries ships of Egyptian type are known to have been trafficking in the Indian Ocean, and it is probable that maritime links had already been established between the Persian Gulf and the Western coast of India. At any rate, the great megalithic culture that was introduced into Hyderabad and Mysore by those miners who so actively exploited the gold of that region of Southern India, seems to have no very intimate connexion with the Northern Indian civilization that came by the land route from Elam to the Punjab and Sind". "The type of civilization that developed in Southern India exhibits many marks of an original Egyptian inspiration—although the Egyptian elements were completely assimilated and had acquired a distinctively Indian character; the stream of cultural diffusion had passed further east to Burma, Siam and Cambodia, and the Malay Archipelago. The whole of the Indo-Chinese area became the scene of a blending of the influences of India and China...The great civilizations around the Eastern Mediterranean continued to exert a fluctuating influence on India for many centuries to come". Greek civilization, was inspired by influences from Crate and Asia Minor and represents the effects of the merging with them of Egyptian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian civilizations.—It is possible that the Baktrian Greeks may have played some part in the introduction of Western influence into India: but it seems more probable that the development of early Buddhist architecture and sculpture was in a large measure brought about with the help of Greek craftsmen from Asia Minor. Further, when the Roman Empire began to exert an influence in Asia, extensive trafficking with India took place both by the land and the sea routes. The fact of Greco-Roman influence in India until A. D. 350 when the Gandhara epoch came to an end is generally admitted. It is true that during the Gupta period (from about A. D. 650), Indian art reached the highest stage of its development. But it is unjustifiable to

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assume, that because direct connxion with the West was cut off, Greek calture had ceased to play any part in India. It is more in accordance with the facts to regard the Gupta culture as the product of the Gandhara. The Greak influence at work in the latter had become gradually assimilated, to form a new compound, distinctive of India, which we describe as the Gupta phase of culture. But its vitality was due partly to the adaptation of the alien culture to the Indian environment, and to the wider appeal which was made by this adapted art to the native genius in virtue of the fact that it had assumed a distinctively national character. The Gupta epoch witnessed the highest expression of art in India. Its influence spread far afield, to Ceylon and Burma, to Siam and Cambodia, to China and Japan in which last region it played a prominent part in stimulating the glories respectively of the T'ang and the Nara epochs. This great wave of cultural renaissance swept not only along the whole Eastern littoral of Asia, but also passed by way of the islands of the Malay Archipelago (in particular Java) into the wide spaces of the Pacific Ocean. The small islands of Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia were able to seize and retain only a small contribution from the rich stream that flowed across Oceania. But that stream carried to Central America, Mexico, and the Pacific coast of South America the inspiration for the marvellous civilizations of the Mayas and Incas, which reached their fullest expression between the sixth and twelfth centuries A. D. The first immigrants entered North America from North-eastern Asia by crossing Berring Straits. The first elements of culture may have been introduced into America—both by the northern coastal (Aleutian) route, as well as across the equatorial belt of the Pacific—as early as the beginning of the Christian era. But it was not until the eighth or ninth century A. D., that great stone pyramids of Cambodian and Javanese types were constructed in America. Not only from North and South America and Oceania, but also from Java and Indo-China and further west, there is available an overwhelming mass of exact evidence to convince him (the student with an open mind) of the derivation of the cultural capital of America from South-eastern Asia. Once the fact is admitted, the case for the reality of the general principle of the diffusion of culture is sufficiently established."

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If Sir John Marshall should have anticipated that the momentous discovery of the Indus-Valley civilization with its hoary antiquity would lead the diffusionist school to shift the cradle of civilization and the centre of cultural diffusion from the banks of the Nile to those of the Indus, this latest authoritative restatement of the diffusionist account of the origin and migration of culture will sadly disillusion him and those of his way of thinking.

Men of the Trees. In the Mahogamy Forests of Kenya and Nigeria.— *By Richard St. Barbe Baker. With a Foreward by Bronislaw Malinwoski, and an Introdution by Lowell Thomas. (Allen & Unwin. 1932). Pp. 283. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

This is a most delightful and instructive account of the personal experiences of the author during eight years of his life as a Forest Officer in the forests of Western Africa and among its Bantu population As Prof. Malinowski writes in his Foreword, though the auther is not a trained anthropologist, "yet we feel not only that the writer has understood the natives better than many a learned anthropologist, but also that he succeded in making them understand him.....Only a true tree-worshipper, such as Captain St. Barbe Baker realy is, could have entered with such an intintive grasp of reality into the ritual life of these unknown people. The account of the mystic rites which centre round trees is almost worthy of some pages of the 'Golden Bough.'' The author's happy idea

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of organizing the society of "The Men of Trees" is an eloquent illustration of the great practical value of an intimate knowledge of the habits and the mentality of savage tribes to the administrator, the Forest officer, the missionary and the economic and social reformer. The book will be one of fascinating interest to the general reader and much more so to the student of primitive man.

History of Orissa.—*By R. D, Banerji (Calcutta: R. Chatterji.) Vol. I (1930), Pp. XII+351; Vol II. (1931) Pp. XIV+481. Price Rs. 20 net (each vol.).*

This magnificient work is an exhaustive and scholarly study of the *History of Orissa* based on all available records and supplemented by original research. The distinguished author has produced a real history which is not a mere record of dated events, wars and dynastics, but, also, what is more vital and important, a scholarly, well-documented, and authoritative picture of the growth and development of the social, political, economic, artistic and religious life of the people, carefully set on a background of a concise account of their physical environment, racial composition, and archaeological (including epigraphical and numismatic) remains. The two volumes which are divided into fifty-two chapters with six appendices, comprise an exhaustive study of the history of Orissa and its people, based on original sources,—from prehistoric times through Vedic and post-Vedic, Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic periods down through mediaeval to modern times. These splendid volumes will long remain the standard work on the history of a highly

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interesting Indian Province and its culture, and a standing monument to the historical and critical acumen and literary gift of a brilliant Indian scholar and investigator. The printing and get-up are excellent and the 95 monochrome plates with which the volumes are illustrated have been well executed. The enterprising publisher who is himself a distinguished scholar, deserves our grateful thanks for the care and interest with which he has seen the book through the press and the notes which he has added in the light of the latest publications.

The Evolution of Sex and Intersexual Conditions.—*By Dr. Gregorio Marañón. Translated from the Spanish by Warre B. Wells. (London: Allen & Unwin. 1932) Price 15 s. net.*

The author who is Professor of Endoctrinology at the University of Madrid has in this volume presented a new and, indeed, revolutionary interpretation of the physiology of sex and sexnal differentiation. This is a challenge to the classic conception of sex as an immutable and non-evolutionary value, which established an opposition instead of a gradation between 'femenine' and 'masculine'. According to our author, "Sex is not an individual altribute which possesses an immutable value, but has rather an evolutionary value.....The differentiation between the man and the woman does not imply a different sexual value. It results simply from the fact that in each of the two sexes the succession of phases of sex is not accomplished in the same way". "The masculine and feminine are not two diametrically

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opposed entities, but successive degrees in the development of a single function—sex. This is dormant in childhood and in old age, and is active during the central period of life with purely quantitative and chronological differences as between one sex and the other". Our author maintains that the two sexes are "not in antagonistic but in successive positions". "Feminity is a phase midway between adolescence and virility. Virilty is a terminal phase in sexual evolution. Every man, in order to cease to be a child and to become a man, has therefore to pass through a phase of femininity more or less suppressed. Every woman, if she passes through the complete vital cycle, sees her femininity fall into decay and indications of virility break out amid its ruins.... In the man the initial femenoid phase is short and of slight intensity, and the virile phase differentiated and long. In the woman the feminine phase is long and differentiated, and the viriloid and terminal phase is short and of slight intensity. Intermediate forms, accordingly, depend as much upon the excessive intensity of the secondary sex as upon its excessive duration". In this view, all discussions regarding the superiority, the inferiority or the equality of the sexes are futile, as both the sexes are in a sense, equal being "but phases of one and the same evolution; different because of their unalterable placing in a successive order". "In this respective situation of their sex, within the same evolutionary scale, consists the greatness of the destiny of both and at the same time their inevitable tragedy. Femininity, inasmuch as it is a midway phase, bears within itself an essence of eternal youth, an inexhaustible store of possibilities; but, for the same season, there is a moment when its progress encounters an insurmountable obstacle to its own evolution. The progress of the woman beyond that obstacle is not and never can be anything but an aspiration to virility, its succeeding phase. This is the significance of the emancipating tendencies of the feminine sex, which otherwise can deviate along the collateral path of maternity—its biological and social end *par excellence*, but one which inhibits the complete evolution of feminine morphology. Masculinity, on the other hand, inasmuch as it represents a terminal

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phase, is equivalent to a differentiated and almost perfect form; but, for the same reason, it bears in its very virility it own impassable limitation". So man must either "resign himself to the concentric perfecting of his own virility; or, perhaps, envisage the end of his progress, outside his biological limits, in the aspiration to immortality". The author's suggestion about the origin of the present-day 'emancipating tendencies' of woman, as indeed the whole of his contribution to the theory of sexual differentiation is thought-provoking.

The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.—*By Edward Horace Man*, with a Report of the Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island.—*By A. J. Ellis. (Royal Anthropological Institute, 1932). Pp. XXXII+224+30. Price 8 s. 6 d. net.*

Students have long wanted a reprint of this valuable standard work on the Andaman Islanders, copies of the original edition of which are now scarce. We owe a heavy debt of gratitude to the Royal Anthropological Institute for supplying it. It is unfortunate that the author did not live to edit, as he had desired, the revised edition himself. But, as it is, Mr. Man's work, as the late Sir Richard Temple said, "is an exhaustive study conducted with scientific accuracy and systematic care,—a remarkable work which is not only a model of anthropological researh but is also of unusual interest". The philological report arranged by Mr. A. J. Ellis from the papers of the author and Sir Richard Temple and appended to this volume, adds to its value.

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1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—*Twelve Rupees.*

SOME OPINIONS ON THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and inteligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :—"In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranchi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :— "I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the American Anthropologist. The

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book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in a very effective from. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

The Nature (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book *"The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur"* (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

The Discovery. (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the Oraon social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

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A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

The Statesman (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

The Forward (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works— *The Birhors*, *The Mundas* and *The Uraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

The Modern Review (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

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of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on *The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,

Church Road, Ranchi.

1. THE BIRHORS : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608, 36 plates. (Ranchi : "*MAN IN INDIA*" Office, 1925). Price Rs. 10- ; or 15 s.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities a mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes :—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indin Ethnology.....

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DR. ROLAND B. DIXON, A. M., PH. D., Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University writes :—

.....You are certainly doing work to be proud of in the studies you have published of the Chota-Nagpur tribes, and all anthropologists are in your debt. If only we could have similar studies of all the wilder peoples of India, how fine it would be !.....

THE NATURE, (London : September 19, 1925):—

.....Students of Indian anthropology are deeply indebted to Mr. Roy for the light he has thrown on the past and present culture of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. In the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* he has opened up new ground in the archaeology of his area. His monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons* are classics. "The Birhors" is yet another first-rate study, a study not merely of an obscure tribe but also of the workings of that mysterious complex of thought and feeling which go to make up human culture..... Mr. Roy is never a theoriser or a partisan ; his diction is simple and precise, his inspiration comes straight from the hearts of the humble folk he has made his friends.

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2. **A MUNDARI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY**.....By, Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri, B. L., Khunti (Ranchi).

A vocabulary of Mundari words and their meanings, with phonetic and etymological notes. An excellent hand-book for those who wish to learn the language, as well as for a scientific study of the same.

With an Introduction by the Editor of this Journal.

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